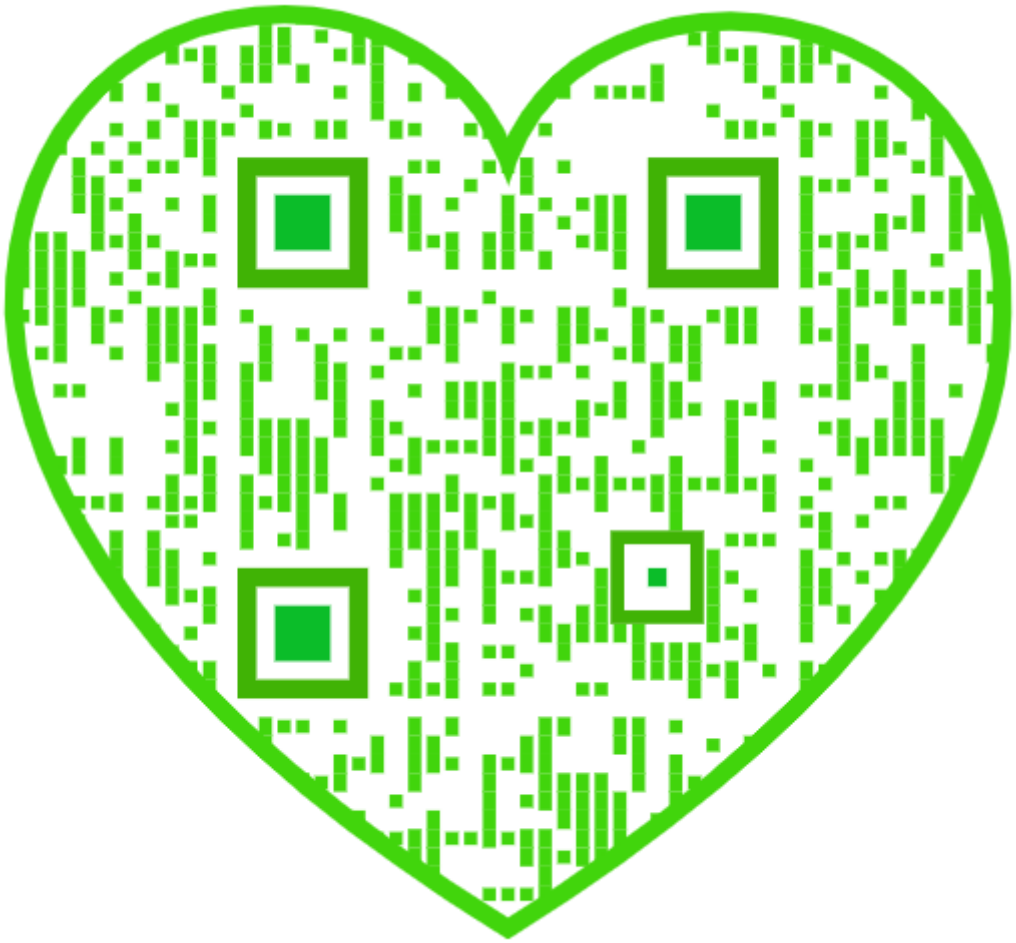
3 1761 05946680 5



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/earlyenglishfurn01cescuoft

16

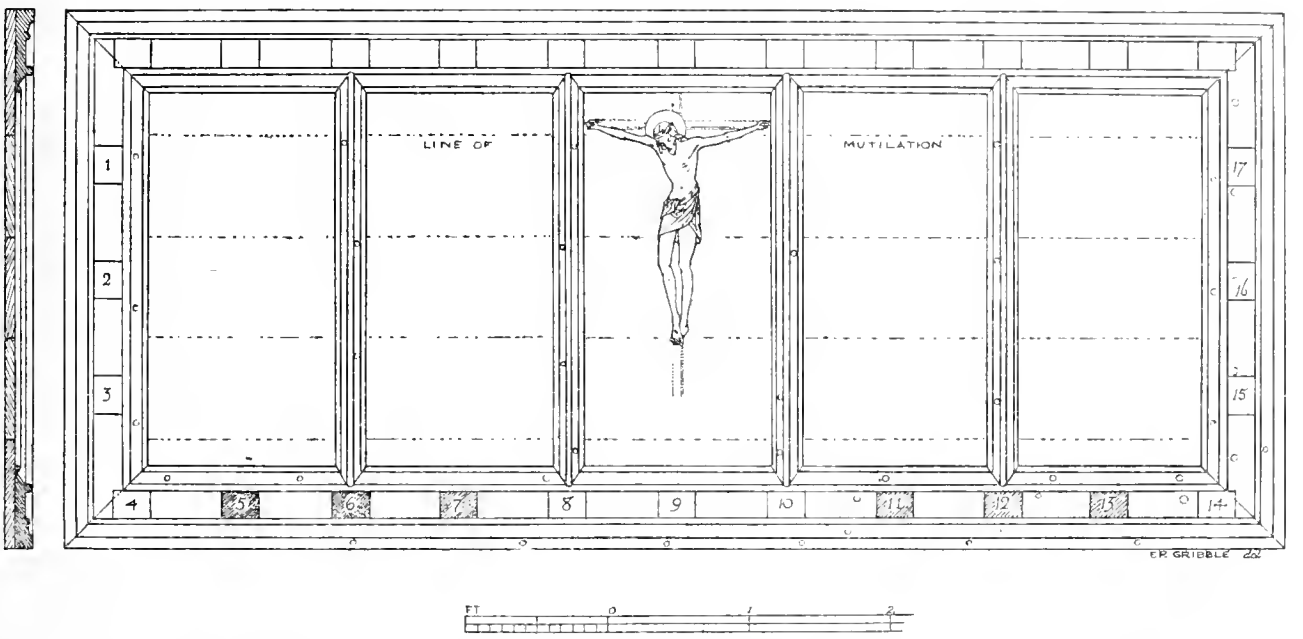
(18)

EARLY ENGLISH FURNITURE AND WOODWORK

VOLUME I

A SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION
OF THE
14TH CENTURY RETABLE, OR PREDELLA,
ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE

(Reproduced by direct colour photography from the original, by the permission of the Dean of Norwich Cathedral.)



The panels represent (1) the Scourging; (2) the Bearing of the Cross; (3) the Crucifixion (a fragment); (4) the Resurrection; and (5) the Ascension.

The ground and surrounds are decorated in modelled and gilded gesso.

The coats of arms on the small square panels, numbered 1 to 17, are (as nearly as can be ascertained) of the families given below.

Banner.	Colour of Ground or Backing.	Condition.	Arms of.	
No. 1	Red	Destroyed	—	—
2	Red	Traces of —	Despencer	(Bishop of Norwich, 1370–1406.) *Quarterly argent and gules, the 2nd and 3rd quarters fretty or; over all a bend sable.*
3	Red	Defaced	—	—
4	Red	Almost destroyed	—	—
5	Black	Perfect	Hales	(Record of family, 1381.) *Sable a chevron between three lions rampant argent.*
6	Black ?	Perfect	Morieux	(Record of family, 1381.) *Gules, a bend argent billety sable.*
7	Black	Almost obliterated	—	(Doubtful traces of fess as ordinary.)
8	Red	Obliterated	—	—
9	Red	Almost obliterated	—	(Traces of fess) ?
10	Red	Almost obliterated	Clifford ?	(Traces of checkers and narrow fess) ?
11	Black	Partly obliterated	Kerdeston	*Gules, a saltire engrailed argent.*
12	Black	Partly obliterated	Gernon	(Record of Sir Nicholas Gernon, 1374.) *Paly nebuly argent* (or *or*) *and gules.*
13	Black	Complete	Howard	(Record of Sir John Howard, 1388.) *Gules, a bend between six cross-crosslets fitchees argent.*
14	Red	Destroyed	—	—
15	Red	Destroyed	—	—
16	Red	Destroyed	—	—
17	Red	Destroyed	—	—
18–28	—	Missing	—	—

(See pp. 120, 121, 122 and 124.)

EARLY·ENGLISH FURNITURE·& ·WOODWORK·

VOL·I

291501
25. 9. 33

BY

HERBERT·CESCINSKY

AND

·ERNEST·R·GRIBBLE·

GEORGE·ROUTLEDGE·AND·SONS·LIMITED
BROADWAY·HOUSE·LUDGATE·HILL·LONDON
MCMXXII

EMG

NK
2529
C45
U.1.

Printed in Great Britain at
The Mayflower Press, Plymouth. William Brendon & Son, Ltd.

PREFACE

IN the attempt to write a history of English furniture and woodwork showing its development in an orderly progression, one is confronted by an initial difficulty ; where to begin. Of woodwork prior to the fourteenth century we know very little, and of furniture practically nothing. Even if isolated specimens, for illustration, were available,—which is not the case,—they would be useless for our present purpose. I have pointed out, in other books on the subject, that an account of the evolution of furniture types,—especially when an attempt is made to date examples,—must be a chronicle of the fashions which prevailed at various periods. A solitary piece which has survived from very early times may, or may not, be indicative of the fashions of its time ; we cannot know unless we can produce others of corresponding date and type, which establish the fact. We must always bear in mind also the possibility of a later copy of an earlier original. Thus, oak dressers and square-dial long-case clocks were made as late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but it would only make for confusion to illustrate such pieces as examples of late-eighteenth-century furniture, although made at that time. They are of the period but are not typical.

Modern furniture, even when made from that most durable material, English oak, and when constructed in the logical and stable manner which is so characteristic of the Tudor and Stuart periods, is, nevertheless, perishable, even with judicious wear and usage. When neglect and ill-treatment are added, it is not remarkable that so little, comparatively, of the Tudor and Jacobean furniture has survived to our day ; the wonder is that any has persisted, even in the great treasure houses of England. With fashion always as capricious as it is at the present day, out-of-date furniture, in any form, must have been frequently in jeopardy during the chequered career through which so much of it has passed.

For practical purposes, we are compelled to begin somewhere, and it is hazardous to carry our enquiries much further back than the fourteenth century, in the case of woodwork, and the fifteenth as far as furniture is concerned.

Closing, as this book does, with the end of the seventeenth century, we are confined to a period of rather more than three hundred years, and, with certain rare exceptions, it is oak furniture or woodwork with which we are exclusively concerned.

To justify the existence of this book as a contribution to the subject of English

furniture and woodwork, it has been necessary to break new ground, apart from such personal predilection and bias from which no authors are free. In the case of the earlier pieces, some pioneer work has been attempted, by not only dating the period of the inception of the particular fashions of each example illustrated, but also by endeavouring to indicate, where practicable, and where one could be reasonably sure of one's own knowledge, the county or locality of origin. Apart from the interest attaching to such information, it is necessary in determining periods either of fashion or manufacture, as the East Anglian counties, for example, were often the first to adopt designs and methods from Holland, which the Western districts only copied at a much later date.

It must also be remembered, in the attempt to view the early part of our subject in its proper perspective, that, at least until the end of the first half of the seventeenth century, if not to its close, intercourse between towns, and more especially between the remoter country districts, was very meagre.[1] Trade traditions were preserved chiefly by the town apprentice, who became, frequently, the roving "journeyman," or settled in the country districts as a small master. It followed, therefore, as a logical conclusion, that fashions originated from the large towns and were perpetuated in the provinces, often long after their vogue in London had departed.

The only system of dating, therefore, which can be attempted with any approximation to truth, is that of the inception of fashions, not that of the actual manufacture of pieces themselves. *This point can hardly be over-emphasised.* To date an oak chair as closely as a semi-decade, for instance, would be obviously absurd if this implied the actual date when the chair was made. When, however, we learn from history that events occurred at this period, which led to the introduction of a foreign fashion or detail which the particular chair exhibits, such close dating begins to possess a real significance. This system acquires a further advantage as indicating only the inception of a type. It must not be forgotten that, frequently, the provinces copied the metropolitan fashions at intervals varying from twenty to thirty years after they had ceased to be made in London.

With the earlier examples, until almost the end of the sixteenth century, it is more than doubtful if fashions existed at all, in the sense in which the term is used here, if we except the ecclesiastical Gothic. England, from the point of view of furniture production, was a collection of counties rather than a country. Each locality was influenced by another according to inter-association and proximity, and between such

[1] It is, also, important to remember that this paucity of intercourse did not exist in the case of early monastic institutions. The significance of this will be elaborated in Chapters II and III.

counties as Gloucestershire and Suffolk, for example, such intercourse was probably non-existent. Each locality, therefore, in greater or lesser degree, must have possessed its own furniture and woodwork characteristics, favourite or peculiar details, dictated by trade traditions or abnormalities of timber growth or texture.[1]

No writer on the subject appears to have dealt with this question of origin at all, as, at first sight, there appears to be little or no data to commence with. Although there is every reason to suppose, for example, that some proportion of the furniture made in Cheshire would remain in its place of origin, yet, when we have to consider a period of from two to three hundred years, this amount would be so likely to be augmented by the productions of other counties, or diminished by removal or breakage, that it becomes a nice point, at the present day, at least with secular furniture, to distinguish the indigenous from the imported specimens.

We have, however, a meagre groundwork with which to commence, in ecclesiastical furniture of the movable type, and especially in such woodwork as pulpits or choir stalls. We can say in the case of fixed woodwork in churches, with a fairly close approximation to the truth, that this is of local manufacture, and once made and placed in position was not likely to be removed elsewhere. The preserved records of the Church itself frequently establish this beyond doubt. Even in the case of clerical establishments prior to and during the period when Henry VIII was waging his campaign against the power and property of the monasteries, the same applies. Country churches were comparatively little affected by the strife which destroyed monasteries, abbeys and priories, as the activities of Henry VIII and his son were directed, principally, against the larger clerical establishments.[2]

By reasoning from the fixed woodwork to the movable furniture contained in country churches, it is possible, with care, to reconstruct the local styles of the various periods, even though wide reservations have to be admitted. Thus Kentish woodwork and furniture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are unmistakable.

With greater production and complication of influences, as in the East Anglian counties, it is not so easy to localise the work of Suffolk or Norfolk as that of Kent, but the difficulty is partly removed if we reason from the basis of maximum standards of production in each case.

Where fashions became widespread, and when the London manner was adopted,

[1] Again clerical furniture and woodwork of the periods prior to the Suppression of Monasteries, must be excepted.

[2] We must except the activities of William Dowsing and his fellows from 1640 to 1650, when so many of the church rood screens were defaced or mutilated, especially in East Anglia.

in various parts of England, with little or no modification, the task of localising manufacture becomes more difficult, or even hopeless, but in this case there are minor factors which are often of great assistance in arriving at a decision. The growth of oak or walnut is not the same in the Western as in the Eastern Counties of England. In the case of timber imported from Holland we could expect, naturally, to find a preponderance of furniture made from this foreign wood in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex or Kent, rather than in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire or the Welsh bordering counties. We have some idea, from historical records, of the wealth and industrial conditions of the various counties at different periods, as far back as the reign of Henry V, and we would look, therefore, for the richest secular work in the wealthier districts, although this would, for obvious reasons, not apply, necessarily, to ecclesiastical woodwork or furniture, as the monastic establishments, prior to Henry VIII, were enormously wealthy even in the poorer counties.

In a general sense, also, the art of the secular woodworker was centred in certain towns of importance, and radiated from them in a very traceable way. These principal towns where the trade traditions were fostered during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were London, Bristol, Norwich, Ipswich, Coventry, Southampton, Exeter, Shrewsbury, Chester, York and Winchester. From these towns the apprentice-work was carried to adjoining country districts, and the original trade traditions were perpetuated, with little or no modifications, often for very long periods. It is, therefore, sometimes possible to postulate a sphere of origin with far more certainty than a date of manufacture, and we are compelled to limit a statement of period to the date when a certain style originated in one of the centres mentioned above.

A few words here are necessary to explain the association of names on the title page of this book. Since the publication, some eleven or twelve years ago, of "*English Furniture of the Eighteenth Century*," I have always had the idea of writing another book which should cover the whole of the available ground of English furniture, with its contemporary woodwork. The collection of suitable examples, both for text and illustration, involved some considerable labour and research, and conditions associated with the Great European War, still further protracted its publication. One has also the disturbing consideration that the longer a book of this kind is kept in manuscript and photographic form, the more one has the chance of improving it by the addition, periodically, of further facts and additional examples.

The author learns, perhaps, more than his readers, from an examination and comparison of a large number of pieces and photographs, providing that they are

authentic productions of their time. It is in the examination of these examples, especially in remote districts, and in photography under the most difficult conditions, where the collaboration of Ernest Gribble has been so valuable. It is proposed to follow up this book on "*Early English Furniture and Woodwork*" by another, dealing with the work of the eighteenth century, thereby making the two books complete in their way. In this first book it was necessary that one only should be responsible for the writing, and this task has fallen to me. I may confess, at the outset, that without Ernest Gribble this book would either never have been written, or would have been a very different production. His knowledge and experience of English woodwork, especially of the early examples prior to 1530 has been more than an assistance; it has been indispensable. For many years he has employed the whole of his leisure time in visiting churches and houses of the lesser type, in places practically unknown, and quite "off the map," photographing (often under conditions of incredible difficulty), detailing and examining, with the eye of a skilled craftsman, examples of English woodwork, remarkable alike for their obscure location and their high quality.

If it be a truism that the greater one's knowledge the more self-apparent is one's ignorance, I can only say that the real profundity of mine on the subject of early oak woodwork was never so apparent to me until after our collaboration had commenced. Ernest Gribble's name figures on this book as co-author with my own, but I must acknowledge that he has supplied the bulk of the facts and the greater number of the photographs. In the early chapters I have merely written from his notes, which have exploded many of my pet theories. Some of these, however, have survived his criticism or persisted in spite of it.

I cannot close this preface without a grateful acknowledgment to many of the owners of the examples illustrated here, who have, with unfailing courtesy and patience, assisted me in every way, by affording facilities for photographing their possessions, and by giving me information as to their history and origin.

I have been indebted to so many for the necessary photographs which the book has required that particular mention is almost invidious in itself. I feel, however, that distinct praise is due to those gentlemen who have taken photographs in churches, as every photographer will appreciate the enormous difficulty attendant upon work of this character.

The Rev. Frederick Sumner has very kindly furnished the following: Figs. 99, 107, 108, 109, 112, 113, 117, 147, 148, 152, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175. The Rev. F. R. P. Sumner: Figs. 3, 4, 5, 132, 133, 134, 135, 146, 154, 155, 156. Mr. C. J. Abbott: Figs.

33, 55, 66, 97, 98, 104, 105, 157, 158, 181, 182, 184, 263, 264, 265, 295, and Messrs. F. Frith: Figs. 93, 94, 95, 96, 106, 138, 139, 159, 176, 177.

I would like to point out here, that the collecting of the necessary photographs for this book has occupied a space of over twelve years. The names here given are of the owners of the pieces at the times when the photographs were taken. Many of the examples may have changed hands since; this has been the case, to my knowledge, with several, but as I have not—and could not without an enormous amount of trouble,—have followed the history of each piece and noted its change of ownership, I have, therefore, noted the name of the owners at the time when the photographs were taken. This course was inevitable. To obviate a needless repetition of "In the possession of," or "The property of," I have merely put the name of the owner under each example illustrated.

I cannot resist here a strong word of praise of our national collection of furniture in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and at the same time to express my admiration of the way in which this has been reinforced and improved during recent years. So much painstaking knowledge and diligent research has been shown, so many new pieces of remarkable merit have been acquired, and in circumstances of the utmost difficulty (as the buying methods of the Board of Education place their curators at serious disadvantage when pitted against the dealer or the private collector), that I have been amazed to find out, on recent visits, how good and representative the collection of furniture at the Museum really is, at the present day. After travelling hundreds of miles, to inspect collections of early oak in remote country districts, only to find that one is confronted with the handiwork of this or that well-known "reproducer," it is refreshing, to say the least, to visit the Museum, where every courtesy and assistance is afforded to the student, and where every piece can be examined under ideal conditions.

In conclusion, if the reader experiences only a part of the pleasure and profitable knowledge from the perusal and study of this book which I have gained in its writing, I shall be more than satisfied.

H. C.

1922.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	PREFACE	v
I.	INTRODUCTORY	1
II.	THE DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES	9
III.	THE EARLY WOODWORKER: HIS LIFE, TOOLS AND METHODS	17
IV.	THE PLAN OF THE EARLY TUDOR HOUSE	32
V.	THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH TIMBER ROOF	54
VI.	GOTHIC WOODWORK AND COLOUR DECORATION	103
VII.	TIMBER HOUSES, PORCHES AND DOORS	176
VIII.	THE ENGLISH STAIRCASE	211
IX.	WOOD PANELLINGS AND MANTELS	231
X.	BEDSTEADS AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT	355
	INDEX	371

"There is no way of making an aged art young again; it must be born anew and grow up from infancy as a new thing, working out its own salvation from effort to effort in all fear and trembling."

SAMUEL BUTLER, *Erewhon.*

PARALLEL HISTORY OF EUROPE

IN THE

FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

PARALLEL HISTORY OF EUROPE IN THE

1400.

SCOTLAND	ENGLAND	FRANCE	SAVOY	SWITZERLAND	GERMAN EMPIRE		
					AUSTRIA	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY
	House of Lancaster		**Dukes**	1308 The Helvetian Republic began with the (legendary) revolt of William Tell against Gessler, Governor for the Emperor Albert I. The Cantons joined the League in the following order:	1400 **Robert, Count Palatine of Luxemburg**		
1406 Interregnum	1400 **Henry IV**				1410 **Sigismund** (King of Bohemia, 1419) (King of Hungary, 1392)		
	1413 **Henry V**						
	1415 Battle of Agincourt						
1424 **James I**	1422 **Henry VI**	1422 **Charles VII**	1451 **Louis**	1308 **Uri**	**House of Austria**		
1437 **James II**	1453 Wars of the Roses	1428 Siege of Orleans. Joan of Arc		1308 **Switz**	1438 **Albert II** (King of Bohemia and Hungary in 1437)	1440 **Wladislaus**	
	House of York			1308 **Unterwalden**			
1460 **James III**	1461 **Edward IV**	1461 **Louis XI**	1465 **Amadeus IX**	1332 **Lucerne**	1440 **Frederick IV** (He transformed Austria into an Arch-Duchy in 1452)	1458 **George Podiebrad**	1458 **Matthias Corvinus**
	1477 / 1479 The Plague	1465 War of the Public Good	1472 **Philibert I**	1351 **Zürich**			
	1483 **Edward V**	1483 **Charles VIII**	1482 **Charles I**	1352 **Zug**		**Line of Jagellon**	
	1483 **Richard III**		1489 **Charles II**	1352 **Glaris**		1471 **Wladislaus** 1490 son of **Casimir I** of Poland	
1488 **James IV**	**The "Golden Age" of English Woodwork**	1495 Expedition to Italy		1353 **Berne**			
				1481 **Fribourg**			
	1484 The "Sweating Sickness"		1496 **Philip Lackland**	1481 **Soleure**			
	House of Tudor	1498 **Louis XII** (called the "Father of his People")	1497 **Philibert II** (The Fair)	**Allied Cantons**			
	1485 **Henry VII**			1491 **Grisons**	1493 **Maximilian I**		
				1491 **Valais**			

1500.

	1506 The "Sweating Sickness" again breaks out			1501 **Basle**		
			1504 **Charles III**	1501 **Schaffhausen**		
1513 **James V**	1509 **Henry VIII**	1515 **Francis I**		1513 **Appenzel**	1517 **Reformation of Luther**	1516 **Louis**, killed at **Mohatz**
	1515 Hampton Court commenced			**Allied Cantons**	1529 The English "Sweating Sickness" attacks Northern Germany. 1100 people die in Hamburg in 22 days	
	1517 "Sweating Sickness" again in 1528, known then as the "Great Mortality"			1502 **St. Gall**		1519 **Charles V**, Emperor of Austria and King of Spain
				1503 **Bienne**		
				1526 **Geneva**		
	1529 Fall of Wolsey			1526 **Neufchâtel**	The House of Austria divides into the Spanish and German Branches	
	1536 Suppression of Monasteries began			**Subjects**		
				On the German side	1526 **Ferdinand**, Emperor in 1556	
1542 **Mary** (Beheaded 1587)	1543 **Henry VIII** commences to debase the coinage			**Baden**		
				Turgow	1556 **Ferdinand I**, who by marriage with the heiress of Bohemia and Hungary united those Kingdoms to the House of Austria	
				Rheinthal		
	1547 **Edward VI**	1547 **Henry II**		**Sargans**		
	1551 Last visitation of the "Sweating Sickness"	1559 **Francis II** Civil war by the Guise faction	1553 **Emanuel Philibert** (Iron Hand)	On the French side		
				Moratz		
	1553 **Mary I**	1560 **Charles IX**		**Granson**		
				Orbe	1564 **Maximilian II**	
1567 **James VI** (Succeeded to the throne of England in 1603 as James I. Scotland and England united as Great Britain in 1707)	1558 **Elizabeth**	1572 Massacre of St. Bartholomew		On the Italian side		
	1588 Armada destroyed	1574 **Henry III**	1580 **Charles Emanuel I** (the Great)	**Lugano**	1576 **Rodolph II**	
	1600 East India Company's Charter	1575 The League		**Locarno**		
		1589 **Henry IV** of Navarre (called "the Great")		**Bellinzona**		

FTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

1400.

USCANY	NAPLES AND SICILY	PORTUGAL	CASTILLE	ARRAGON	NAVARRE	GREEK EMPIRE	RUSSIA	POPES OF ROME
	House of Anjou		1406 **John II**			**French Emperors**	(1395 Russia invaded by **Tamerlane** the Tartar)	1404 **Innocent VII**
				1410 Interregnum				1406 **Gregory XII**
	1414 **Jane** or **Janella II**			1412 **Ferdinand I**				1409 **Alexander V**
								1410 **John XXIII**
				1416 **Alfonso V**	1425 **Blanche** and **John II**, King of Arragon	1424 **John II Paleologus**	1425 **Vasily** or **Basil III**	1417 **Martin V**
	House of Arragon							1431 **Eugenius IV**
	1435 **Alfonso**, King of Arragon and Sicily	1433 **Edward**				1448 **Constantine Paleologus**, the last of the Greek Emperors		1447 **Nicholas V**
			1454 **Henry IV**					1455 **Calixtus III**
	1458 **Ferdinand** the Bastard in Naples	1438 **Alfonso V** (the African)		1458 **John II**			1462 **Ivan Basilowitz** or **John III**	1458 **Pius II**
			1474 **Isabella** m. 1479 **Ferdinand II** Kingdom of Spain		1479 **Eleanor**			1464 **Paul II**
	John, King of Arragon and Sicily				1479 **Francis Phœbus** of Foix	**Empire of the Turks**	(In 1474 he delivered Russia from the Tartars)	1471 **Sixtus IV**
								1484 **Innocent VIII**
						Ottoman Line		
	1494 **Alfonso II**	1481 **John II**			1483 **Cathar** and **John** of Albret, who was stripped of Upper Navarre by Ferdinand of Castille			
	1495 **Ferdinand II**	1495 **Emanuel** (the Fortunate)	1492 Discovery of America			1453 **Mahomet II** captures Constantinople		1492 **Alexander VI**
	1496 **Frederick III** expelled by the French							
						1481 **Bajazet II**		

1500.

			SPAIN					1503 **Pius III**
ouse of Medicis	1504 **Ferdinand**, King of Arragon and Sicily, seized the crown of Naples, and Sicily and Naples remained subject to the Kingdom of Spain till 1707		**House of Austria**					1503 **Julius II**
		1521 **John III**	1504 **Jane** and **Philip** of Austria succeed Isabella in Castille. Ferdinand reigns in Arragon until his death in 1516		1516 **Henry II** of Albret	1512 **Selim I**	1505 **Vasily** or **Basil IV** (Maximilian grants him title of Emperor)	1513 **Leo X**
31 **Alexander** created Duke by the Emperor Charles V								1522 **Adrian VI**
					Bourbon			1523 **Clement VII**
			1516 **Charles V** Emperor of Germany in 1519		1555 **Joan** of Albret and **Anthony** of Bourbon	1520 **Solyman I** The Magnificent		1534 **Paul III**
rand Dukes							**Czars of Muscovy**	1550 **Julius III**
69 **Cosmo I**		1557 **Sebastian**	**Cortez** in Mexico **Pizarro** in Peru		1572 **Henry III** In 1589 he succeeded to the throne of France under the title of Henry IV (afterwards called "the Great") and from thence Lower Navarre joins the French Monarchy	1566 **Selim II** defeated at Lepanto	1533 **Ivan Basilowitz** or **John IV** (Conquered **Kazan** and assumed title of **Czar** in 1545)	1555 **Marcellus II**
								1555 **Paul IV**
								1559 **Pius IV**
								1566 **Pius V**
74 **Francis**		1578 **Henry** the Cardinal	1556 **Philip II** conquered Portugal but lost	HOLLAND		1574 **Amurath III**	1584 **Fedor I**	1572 **Gregory XIII**
87 **Ferdinand I**								1585 **Sixtus V**
								1590 **Urban VII**
								1590 **Gregory XIV**
		1580 **Philip II** of Spain took possession of Portugal and it remained subject to the Spanish Crown until 1640		1581 **William of Orange**				1591 **Innocent IX**
				1584 **Maurice B.**				1592 **Clement VIII**
			1598 **Philip III**			1595 **Mahomet III**	1598 **Basil Codunow**	

A CHART

OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE AND WOODWORK IN ENGLAND

(*The dates given are not those of the accession of Kings*)

William I, 1066, to Stephen, 1154. Norman or Romanesque.
The circular-headed arch.

Henry II, 1154 to 1189. Transitional, Norman to Pointed or Lancet.

Richard I, 1189, to Henry III, 1272. Early English, Lanceolated.
Geometrical tracery begins to appear.

Edward I, 1272 to 1307. Transition from early pointed to geometrical pointed.
Tracery entirely geometrical. No free forms in decoration of windows.

Edward II, 1307 to 1327. Geometrical pointed. (Early English.)
Free forms appear in tracery and especially in decoration of mouldings.

Edward III, 1327 to 1377. Flowing or Curvilinear. (Decorated.)
Culminating in the Flamboyant.

Richard II, 1377 to 1399. Transition from Free Decorated to Rectilinear or Perpendicular.

Henry IV, 1399, to Henry VIII, 1546. Perpendicular or Rectilinear.
Introduction of the Linen-fold panel.

1546 onwards. Introduction of the Italian Classical, superimposed on the Gothic, afterwards developing into the Tudor styles.

Chapter I.

Introductory.

TO present a history of English furniture and woodwork from the earliest times of which we have available records, to the end of the seventeenth century, which is the scope and purpose of this book, several initial difficulties have to be considered, each of which demands some attention. The first is the arbitrary character of the word "furniture" as applied to early examples, almost until the end of the fifteenth century. At the present day it would be comparatively easy to formulate a definition of furniture which should exclude decorative woodwork, such as panelling and the like. Even then, articles such as fitted bookcases, or side tables made as fixtures, would escape such definition. In the early periods, until almost the close of the reign of Henry VIII, when furniture was primitive in type, scanty in quantity and limited in purpose, the line of demarcation between woodwork and furniture was even less marked, and it is this inevitable coalescence of the two which has dictated the title of this book.

Another important factor in the understanding of our subject is a knowledge of early house-planning and general style. From the beginning of the thirteenth century until the end of the fifteenth, the ecclesiastical Gothic was the only architectural and woodworking style. Shortly after 1500, however, the influence of the Italian Renaissance began to be felt in this country, some fifteen years later than was the case in France, a circumstance probably due to the fact that not only was England insular by situation, but also the English people were so in character. Architecture and woodwork were not so specialised at this date as in the later centuries; the master carpenter and the architect not only worked hand in hand; in work for the Church, at least, they were frequently the same person. Styles were usually fostered and dictated by the patrons for whom houses were built and furniture made, but always with the assistance of a clerical adviser. After the close of the fifteenth century, the grand tour to Italy became an integral part of the aristocratic education, and Italy, alone of all the European countries, had fostered the classical styles in architecture and woodwork, since the days when the power of Rome had risen and fallen to decay. Germany, France Spain, England, and even the Low Countries still cherished the Gothic as the national style, and long after the classical had submerged it, we still find traces here and there

evidencing the hold which the ecclesiastical Gothic retained upon the architecture and woodwork of the time.

In the endeavour to trace the history of the development of English furniture up to the close of the fifteenth century, it is almost impossible, in England, to overrate the influence of ecclesiastical establishments. The monasteries and religious houses were not only the principal patrons of the joiner and the woodworker ; they maintained a state and a standard of refinement utterly unknown to the laity, even of the rank of the nobility. Furniture of this period, as one would expect, is not only primitive in construction, but also limited in range and quantity. Large banqueting or refectory tables, forms or stools (which were the usual seat at meals until almost the close of the seventeenth century), dower chests, Court cupboards or buffets, livery cupboards and hutches, constituted the whole of the English-made furniture of the apartments of this period, whether of abbots or princes. The chair was a rare article, a sign of dignity and state, reserved for the lord and lady of the secular household, or the head of the clerical establishment. Foreign furniture was sparingly imported and merchandise from the East,—fabrics and the like,—found way into England through the prosperous republican trading cities of Venice and Genoa.

The standard of comfort in the houses, even of the wealthy, was meagre in the extreme. The usual carpeting for the floor, when the fashion originated, with the sixteenth century, for anything beyond bare flags or boards, was a covering of strewn rushes, rarely changed, and usually littered with the debris of feasts thrown to the dogs, who shared the living apartments with their masters. These rush-strewn floors were usual until the reign of Charles II. With the rich nobility, the walls were covered with tapestries or fabrics, at a later date with panellings of wood. The trading classes had to be contented with rough plaster or timbering. Glass in windows was a luxury until late in the sixteenth century, and windows were not only kept studiously small, but the pieces enclosed by the leading, whether diamond or rectangular quarries, were also rarely larger than about six inches by four. Apart from the prohibitive cost, the difficulty of making crown, or whirled glass, in sheets of any size precluded any larger dimensions for these quarries. It is not until almost the beginning of the eighteenth century that the glass-blower became sufficiently expert with the " pontil " to make crown-glass sheets large enough to yield the squares which are found in the great houses of that period. It must be remembered that the largest dimension of the pane can only represent less than one-half of the circular glass plate, which is produced by whirling the " pontil." From the semi-diameter must be deducted the so-called

" bottle-glass " quarries which the " pontil," or blowing rod, leaves when it is broken away from the circular plate. Yet at Lyme Park, Cheshire, for example, the panes are as large as 15 in. by 10 in., which means that they must have been cut from plates not less than 3 ft. in diameter.

That fifteenth-century windows were rarely, if ever, glazed,—other than church windows,—is evident from a study of their design. Thus, the windows from Hadleigh, illustrated in Figs. 41 and 42, have no glazing rebate, and, in any event, glass of the size which each light would have required, would have been unobtainable at this date. To have broken up the openings with leaded bars would have destroyed the whole effect of the tracery, and we know, when glazing became general, that tracery between mullions was omitted. In the windows at Sutton Place (Henry VII) we have, in the four centred arched heads to each light, the last vestige of Gothic tracery as applied to secular windows. The windows at Sutton were as evidently intended for glazing as the Hadleigh windows were not. Opening casements are never found in these unglazed window frames, for obvious reasons, and, even when glazing was introduced, they are very sparingly used. Our ancestors, evidently, did not care for fresh air in the home.

As a compensation for the smallness of windows, the early fireplaces were huge, with a staging of bars and irons on a stone dais for the burning of logs and billets. The science of down-draughts had still to be studied, and smoky chimneys must have been the rule rather than the exception.

The life of the artisan, until almost the end of the first half of the sixteenth century, was rude, but his desires were few, and were amply gratified. Crops were abundant in fifteenth-century rural England, and, in consequence, famines were unknown. Food was plentiful and cheap,—so cheap, in fact, that it was very often thrown in with the wages, when masons and carpenters were engaged on work for the King or the Church, —probably coarse, and certainly lacking in variety,—meat and bread, some fruit, but no green vegetables and very few roots,—but, on the whole, the worker's life must have been a happy and contented one at this period. How his status steadily deteriorated from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries will be described in a subsequent chapter.

If the artisan experienced no wants, he was, by no means, a free agent. He could be summoned to work for the King (unless he were in the employ of the Church), at any time or place, which suited the pleasure of the King's carpenter or mason, and the royal mandate empowered such artificer to imprison during their pleasure any who refused.

The Trade Guilds, which reached their highest level at the close of the fifteenth century, possessed unique powers. A master could not take apprentices without the Guild's sanction, and the number was always limited. The apprentice, in turn, was under the absolute dominion of his master, and, even at the present day, the old form of indenture is sometimes retained, by which the apprentice binds himself to his master, to obey all his behests, not to frequent gaming houses, brothels, or places of low resort, and to repair to church when ordered. A workman could not change his location,—other than when summoned by the King's craftsmen,—without the consent of the Guild and the Lord of the Manor. The term "journeyman," which in the later years began to lose its true significance, had a definite meaning up to almost the close of the seventeenth century, implying a craftsman who was licensed to travel from one place to another without fear of detention, arrest or punishment.

The introduction of the Classical element from Italy influenced furniture and architecture almost at the same period. There were two reasons why its effect in the designing of furniture was so soon apparent. A building was necessarily an immovable thing ; a site was demanded, and consideration of expense had to be studied. Furniture was movable ; it was comparatively easy of manufacture, as no prohibitive cost was entailed. Added to this there was a considerable demand, towards the close of the sixteenth century, as the large houses of this period were so sparingly furnished that it was not uncommon for the furniture to be moved, from house to house, with a change of residence. The second reason was the iron-handed methods of Henry VIII in dispersing the culture of the Church abroad, and, incidentally, the monastical possessions with it, in the dissolution of monasteries, removed one of the best patrons and teachers of the woodworking crafts. Much of the furniture, some of the traditions and a little of the invention which had hitherto been cloistered in abbeys and ecclesiastical establishments found their way into the homes of laymen. The culture of the reign of Elizabeth, however, reinforced by the enlightenment from the Continent, due to intercourse and travel, did much to fix, permanently, in the minds of the laity such ideas of luxury and design as had formerly been the exclusive possession of the Church.

The invention of better methods of construction, such as the table with four, six or eight legs in lieu of the older trestle form, the chair with turned legs and underframings in place of the former box with arms and a back, the possibilities of framing, all made for greater lightness of construction without sacrifice of strength. In abbeys and monasteries, until the close of the fifteenth century, time was of little moment. The monks and friars were themselves often finished craftsmen, and their influence

extended, in very marked degree, to their dependents. England in the fifteenth century could almost have been described as an agglomeration of differing communities, either under the forcible control of the temporal lords of the soil or the more gentle influence of the Church. These communities were as far removed, relatively,—considering the slowness of locomotion and the disturbed state of the country, torn in turn by internecine warfare or religious strife,—as Vienna and London are at the present day. If craftsmen, however, seldom changed their location, the Church possessed unexampled facilities for the interchange of ideas from one part of England to another, and even from foreign sources.

With the dissolution of monasteries and the withdrawal of the guiding influence of the religious brethren, the workmen of the time, too inexperienced to originate much that was fine, turned with avidity to the new Classical manner as demonstrated in the new buildings of this period. We get, in consequence, a jumble of the Gothic and the Classical, with original motives superadded, which render the furniture of the sixteenth century exceedingly heterogeneous in character. It is nearer the fact to say that fashions were too multiform to admit of classification, than to state that they were non-existent. We know that, with the furniture of the reigns of Charles II, James II, William III, Anne and the first three Georges, the design is often sufficient warranty for dating a piece, sometimes within as narrow a margin as a single decade. It is not so evident, however, what the factors are which render this close dating of pieces possible. To begin with, during this period the trade of the maker of furniture was more or less homogeneous. The one town had assimilated the art of another and had given, in turn, the result of its own experience. Villages and hamlets had borrowed from the large towns, and even a journey to the metropolis was a matter less of danger than of time. The strong similarity between many of the long-case clocks produced during the first half of the eighteenth and the last quarter of the seventeenth centuries, alike in London and the most insignificant country villages, shows that this interchange of ideas really existed. This was one factor which tended towards uniformity of production,—or the establishment of fashion. There is, however, another necessary condition, without which we get endless repetition of the same patterns, which after the lapse of a century or more render it impossible to dissociate the originals from the copies; that is a leisured class, influential and wealthy enough to define a fashion, to foster the taste of the moment, and to reject the vogue of the preceding decade. These are obvious stipulations; at the present day we can only date a piece by the currency of a bygone fashion, and it is the latest characteristic which determines our estimate of

its age. When we reach the era of repetitions, well-made but bald copies of the furniture of twenty or fifty years before, we are comparatively helpless, and it is only a technical knowledge of the species of the one wood used at the various periods, coupled with an instinct for spontaneity in creation and workmanship, which enables us to detect the later copy. It is idle to look for mere evidences of age. One piece of furniture may wear for centuries in the one household,—of maiden ladies for example,—and may assume an appearance of great antiquity after twenty years of usage by healthy children or careless persons.

Of the two factors referred to above, the homogeneity of a trade is the most important. The leisured classes could not originate ; they could only patronise existing industries, and promote their development ; wealth alone was unable to make finished craftsmen from agricultural labourers. We do not speak of the similarity between the furniture produced in England and Finland at the present day, because interchange of ideas between the craftsmen of the two countries is rare, and the influence of the one on the other is practically nil. This is exactly the condition which must have prevailed during the early part of the sixteenth century and before that time. Towns and villages were scattered ; one county was far removed from the other,—often relatively farther than Berlin and London are at the present day,—and the artisan who roamed from his native place or county was in danger of being taken up for a rogue and a masterless man.

It will be seen, therefore, that to take a piece, irrespective of its place of origin, and to attempt to found a theory as to its antiquity, solely from certain characteristics of its design, is absolutely hopeless. The chair made in Middlesex in 1550 might be copied,—and probably was,—in Hereford some fifty years later. At the present day the two placed side by side would be referred to the same date. There is a strong reason for supposing that this copying, at subsequent periods, actually did take place. The nobles possessed their town houses, and probably several country mansions in addition. Until the end of the sixteenth century, furniture of any kind was exceedingly rare ; it was no uncommon practice, when a noble family removed from London to its country seat, to take much of the furniture from the town house with it. Chairs were specially liable to such removals, as we shall see later. It was, therefore, quite probable that the country joiner would come into contact with the work of his fellow-craftsman in London, and would either be directly commissioned to copy his productions or would assimilate his ideas by association.

The general nature of the problem, of resolving the subject of English furniture

and woodwork into an orderly progression, has been outlined in the foregoing. Three subdivisions suggest themselves in logical sequence, namely, panelling, movable furniture, and chairs, stools, settees and the like. The reasons for the distinction of the first two are evident, and in all three the liability to overlapping of examples can be imagined. With the third category, that of chairs, with their kindred pieces, settees, stools, benches, forms, etc., the separate character is not so obvious, yet they occupy a place apart, not only during the early period, but practically throughout the entire history of English furniture. This is a demonstrable fact, and for several reasons. If furniture of any kind was rare until the end of the Tudor period, chairs were so in even greater degree. As before stated, the bench or stool was the usual substitute at the table ; chairs were seats of honour, reserved for the lord and his lady, sometimes for the exceptionally honoured guest. The long refectory tables of the period were flanked by benches or stools. On the dais, facing the hall—for meals were usually served in the Great Hall, which is such a general feature of the early Tudor house,—two chairs were placed for the lord and lady of the house. These chairs were greatly prized, for their associations rather than for their intrinsic worth, and were often removed from house to house. This esteem is suggested by the fact that chairs were often dated ; an honour shared, as a general rule, only by the Court or standing cupboard and the chest, two important pieces designed to hold the family valuables both while in residence and in transit.

The stool continued to be the usual seat for meals until almost the close of the reign of Charles II, and the great store set by the chairs of the family is also indicated by the amount of fine carving lavished on them at this period. With the accession of William the Stadtholder in 1689, and even some years before, when the persecution of the Huguenots of France, following on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, exiled many thousands of the French weavers, who brought their art to this country, a fashion for gorgeous fabrics was inaugurated. Again the chair, the stool and the settee were exceptionally favoured, as being particularly suited for the display of elaborate silks and velvets. During nearly the whole of the eighteenth century the craft of the chairmaker was quite distinct from that of the joiner, and was a much more favoured industry. It is nearly always chairs which originate the fashions, and mould them for other furniture to follow. We get the cabriole leg, in its many forms, with them, long before it is adapted to tables and similar articles of furniture. The design, especially of the carving, of chairs of the earlier periods is nearly always finer, and certainly more spirited than with other furniture. Greater originality is frequently displayed, and novelties

of construction attempted (such as, at a later date, with the hoop-back chair of Queen Anne days) which are either quite unknown to, or unpractised by, the joiner.

It is these reasons, the distinct character of the chairmaker's craft as compared with that of the furniture joiner, and the difference between the work of both, in their nature, and that of the maker of panelling and semi-constructional woodwork, which have dictated the three subdivisions of this book. Here and there it will be found that they coalesce, but as a general rule it is remarkable how the stream of development flows without any serious deviation into side channels.

One of two methods remains in the orderly statement of our subject; to take examples in their periodic progression irrespective of the three subdivisions referred to above, the other to consider each in turn with due regard to the homogeneity of the book as a whole. It will be found that the latter method is the best in practice, if for no other reason than because panelling, furniture and chairs influence each other in only a slight degree, whereas the true evolution of English furniture is threefold, along each of the three channels before mentioned. This plan has the necessary drawback of requiring periodical returns to a previous starting-point, but it will be found to make for a better understanding, not only of when English furniture and woodwork developed, but why each phase came into being and the factors which caused it to arise.

Chapter II.

The Dissolution of Monasteries.

TWO acts of oppression and greed on the part of Henry VIII stand out in history as remarkable, not only for the autocratic power on the part of the King which they exhibit, but also for the far-reaching effect which they had on the development of English furniture and woodwork. The first of these is the suppression of the monasteries, which began, in the case of the smaller establishments, as early as 1536; the other is the debasing of the coinage, a further description of which, together with some of its effects, will be given in the following chapter.

During the fifteenth century, the power and size of the Church and the monasteries had grown to an enormous extent. Figs. 1 and 2 give an idea of the number of buildings which clustered round St. Alban's Abbey. Trading on the love, but still more, the superstition of the people, the abbeys and convents had been so enriched by gifts either bequeathed at a donor's death or extorted under dire threats of spiritual punishment, that at the close of the century it has been calculated that they possessed one-third of the landed wealth of England. These establishments were, with few and notable exceptions, dens of gluttony and vice, but they included in their orders practically all the lawyers, architects, physicians, scribes, teachers and craftsmen of the Middle Ages. Knowledge may be said to have been non-existent apart from the Church. As Thorold Rogers has stated so well in Chapter VI of his "*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*": "We know but few of the men who designed the great cathedrals, churches, and castles of the Middle Ages,—those buildings which are the wonder of our age for their vastness, their exquisite proportions, and their equally exquisite detail. But when we do know, as it were by accident, who the builder was, he is almost always a clergyman. It seems as though skill in architecture, and intimate acquaintance with all which was necessary, not only for the design of the structure, but for good workmanship and endurance, were so common an accomplishment, that no one was at the pains to proclaim his

The illustrations of Bodiam Castle in this chapter are from photos by Messrs. Everett and Ashdown of Tenterden, Kent.

own reputation or to record the reputation of another. It is known that we owe the designs of Rochester Castle and the Tower to one ecclesiastic. It is recorded that William of Wykeham was Edward the Third's architect at Windsor, as well as his own at Winchester and Oxford, and of various handsome churches which were built during his long episcopate. It is probable that Wayneflete designed the beautiful buildings at Magdalen College ; and it is alleged that Wolsey, in his youth, planned the matchless tower, which has charmed every spectator for nearly four centuries. But no one knows who designed and carried out a thousand of those poems in stone which were the glory of the Middle Ages, and have been made the subjects of servile and stupid limitation in our own."

Henry, whose extravagance was boundless, had cast longing eyes on the wealth of the Church, and when he began his act of suppression, in 1536, on the plea of the Church's vice and mismanagement, he had no other idea than to capture these riches for his own private use. Like all thieves, he had to dispose of the produce of his robberies in the worst market ; in other words, to find receivers for the stolen goods, who were prepared to deal, if the terms were sufficiently attractive to the buyer, and ruinous to the seller. The result was that the proceeds of the royal thefts were dissipated in about four years, and the King had to turn his attention to the currency of the realm to replenish his exhausted treasury.

By these means the condition of the artisan was steadily deteriorated, both by Henry and afterwards by his son, Edward VI.[1] With the suppression of the monastic establishments a horde of monkish vagrants was let loose on the highways and byways of England, men who possessed nearly all the skill in woodwork, in masonry, in carving, illuminating, writing and the other arts. They were turned away " with forty shillings and a gown per man " as

[1] See note at end of chapter.

Burnet pithily remarks, in his "*History of the Reformation.*" The vagrancy laws were stringent; a craftsman could not roam beyond his place of habitation or employment without the consent of his Guild and of the Lord of the Manor, without the gravest risk of being apprehended as a "masterless man,"—a rogue and a vagabond, and the punishment for vagrancy was death, if not mutilation. There were over a hundred offences in the calendar for which a man, in the fifteenth century, could be put to death (stealing a sheep was one of them) and hanging was, perhaps, the kindest punishment in the penal code. Tortures and mutilation were many and ingenious.

With these unfrocked monks departed the skill in building and woodwork, which had made the fifteenth century the Golden Age. Forbidden to work, denied any rights of citizenship, these monks deteriorated into thieves and outlaws, where they did not escape beyond the seas, to follow their crafts in other, and more tolerant, countries.

To quote Thorold Rogers again: "We have been able to trace the process by which the condition of English labour has been continuously deteriorated by the acts of government. It was first impoverished by the issue of base money. Next it was robbed of its guild capital by the land thieves of Edward's regency. It was next brought in contact with a new and more needy set of employers—the sheep-masters who succeeded the monks. It was then, with a pretence, and perhaps with the intention, of kindness, subjected to the quarter sessions assessment, mercilessly used in the first half of the seventeenth century, the agricultural labourer being still further impoverished by being made the residuum of all labour. The agricultural labourer was then further mulcted by enclosures, and the extinction of those immemorial rights of pasture and fuel which he had enjoyed so long. The poor law professed to find him work, but was so administered that the reduction of his wages to a bare subsistence became an easy process and an economical expedient. When the monarchy was restored, his employers, who fixed his wages by their own authority, relieved their own estates from their ancient dues at the expense of his poor luxuries by the excise, tied him to the soil by the Law of Settlement, and starved him by a prohibitive corn law. The freedom of the few was bought by the servitude of the many. Fletcher of Saltoun, an ardent republican for a narrow class, suggested hopeless slavery as the proper doom of the labourers, argued that the people existed only to

work, and that philosophical politicians should have the power to limit their existence by labour. Throughout the eighteenth century the most enlightened men gave the poor their pity, occasionally their patronage, sometimes would assist them at the cost of other workers; but beyond a bare existence, never imagined that they had rights or remembered that they had suffered wrongs. The weight of taxation fell on them in every direction, and with searching severity. To crown the whole, the penalties of felony and conspiracy were denounced against all labourers who associated together to better their lot by endeavouring to sell their labour in concert, while the desperation which poverty and misery induce, and the crime they suggest, were met by a code more sanguinary and brutal than any which a civilised nation had ever heretofore devised, or a high-spirited one submitted to."[1]

In these religious houses of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries neither time, nor expense, were of moment in the production of their works of art, whether for the grandest cathedrals, or tiny churches. "The wealth of the Church was immense, for

[1] The Act by which any combination of workmen, for their own protection or betterment, could be punished with fine, imprisonment or mutilation, was only repealed after 1820. Geo. IV, Cap. 129.

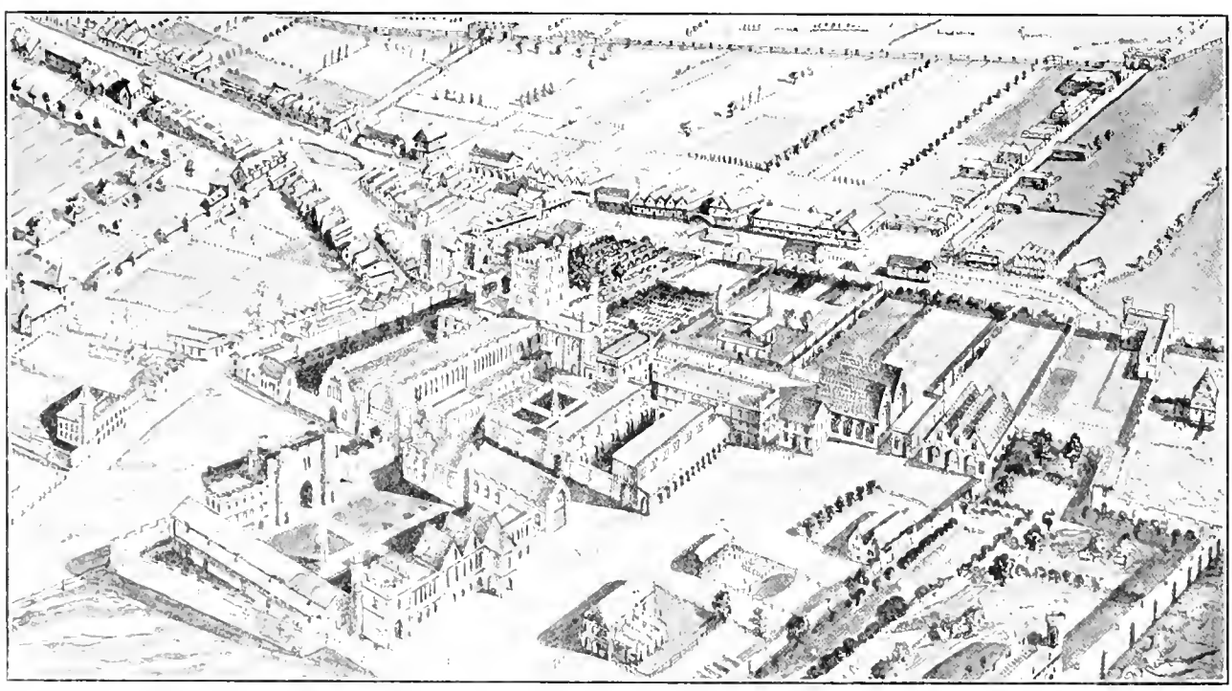


Fig. 1.

ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

This illustration gives some idea of the number of monastic buildings which clustered round an Abbey. From an original drawing by Charles H. Ashdown, Esq., F.R.G.S.

she drew at will upon the fear and superstition of the earth ; and her spirit was as great as her power. For centuries her treasures were for the most part wisely and munificently expended, and the noble buildings she erected and the good deeds she performed cannot be contemplated, even now, without admiration. She opened her gates to the poor, spread a table to the hungry, gave lodging to the houseless, welcomed the wanderer ; and high and low—learned and illiterate—alike received shelter and hospitality. Under her roof the scholar completed his education, the chronicler sought and found materials for history, the minstrel chaunted lays of piety and chivalry for his loaf and his raiment, the sculptor carved in wood or cast in silver some popular saint, and the painter conferred on some new legend what was at least meant to be the immortality of his colours. To institutions so charitable and useful, the rich and the powerful devised both money and lands abundantly ; an opulent sinner was glad to pacify the clamours of the Church and the whisperings of his own conscience, by bequeathing wealth which he could no longer enjoy ; and chantries were added to churches, and hospitals erected and endowed, where the saints were solicited in favour of the departed donor's soul, and the poor and hungry were clothed and fed."

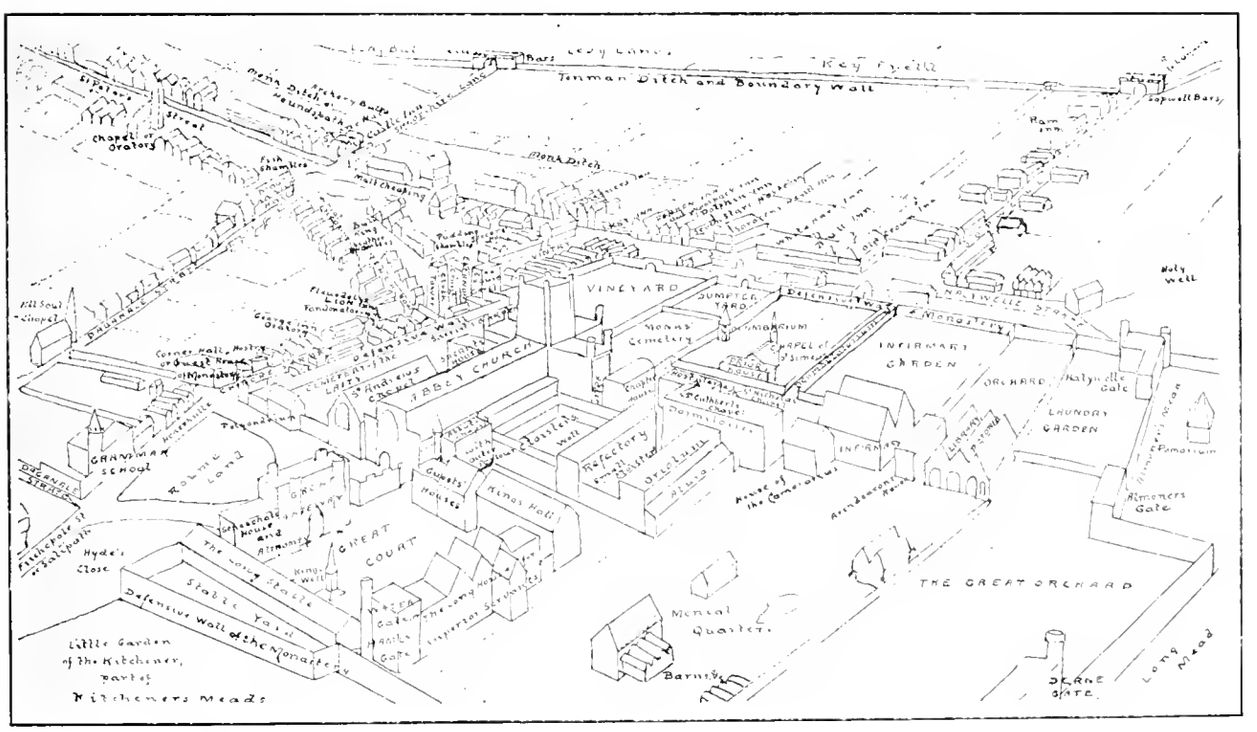


Fig. 2.

A KEY TO THE ILLUSTRATION ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

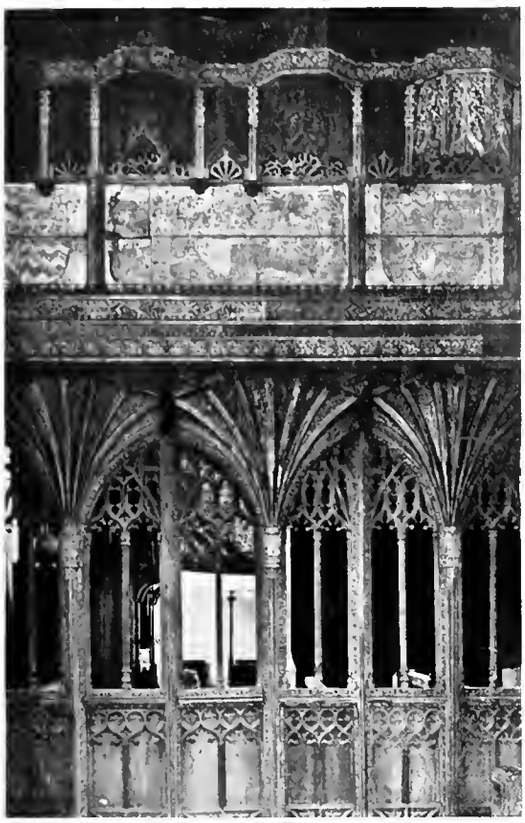


Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

ATHERINGTON CHURCH, DEVON.

West Side of Chancel Screen. Early Sixteenth Century.

An example of a Devonshire Rood Screen with Rood Loft complete. On the eastern (chancel) side the loft is boarded on the front and with applied tracery. On the western (the side shown here) the front is decorated with elaborate niche-work. The detail (Fig. 5) shows the Italian ornament in the vaulting of the screen, a sure indication of the sixteenth century.

Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

The Dissolution of Monasteries

"No better conditions could have prevailed for the execution of works which should persist as monuments of art and craftsmanship as long as materials lasted. The Church created its own artisans, its masons, sculptors, carvers or joiners and employed them on its own works under the skilled direction of its prelates. That these craftsmen were lay brothers or monks is probable; certainly they seem to have either disappeared when the monasteries were suppressed, or to have lost their skill both in designing and in executing. Possibly when the higher dignitaries of the Church came under the baneful notice of Wolsey and Cromwell, and many, as at Reading, Colchester and Glastonbury, perished at their hands, the guiding spirit of English architecture and woodwork took wings and fled.[1]

That these religious houses had increased in number out of all proportion to the population, and in wealth and power to such degree as to be a menace to King and State, is unquestionable. The policy of the public good may have dictated reduction in size, wealth or number, but no one will credit Henry VIII with any higher notice than the replenishment of his own exchequer."[2]

That art lived and grew only in the shadow of the Church cannot be doubted when fourteenth-century castles and cathedrals are compared. True, the former were built to withstand armed assaults, from which the latter were protected by their sacred character, but the interiors of castles were often as rude and free from ornament as their exteriors. We meet with exceptions, as at Tattershall Castle, where, in the fifteenth century, Ralph, Lord Cromwell, Lord Treasurer of England under Henry VI, embellished the thirteenth-century castle of Baron de Tatershale both outside and in, after the fine Gothic manner of his age. But the twelfth-century Abbey of Kirkstead was near by;—it had, in fact, been founded by the original builder of Tattershall,—and there is no doubt that the decorative work, the windows, the heraldic vaulting and the stone chimney-pieces (the latter of which underwent such extraordinary vicissitudes some years ago, being rescued actually from the housebreakers' hands, after removal, by Earl Curzon of Kedleston) were the work of the neighbouring monks. The great abbeys and monasteries supplied both the designing and executive ability for the more ornate secular houses and castles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One would venture to assert, for example, that the aid of the neighbouring Abbey of Robertsbridge was not invoked in the decoration of the late fourteenth-century Castle of Bodiam illustrated in the pages of this chapter.

[1] Alan Cunningham, "*William of Wykeham.*"

[2] The jewelled canopies to some of the tombs in the earliest chapels of Westminster Abbey were despoiled and sold by the rapacious monarch.

The guiding and directing influence of the Church is very apparent in such woodwork and furniture prior to 1520, which has persisted to the present day, and its absence is equally noticeable in the later work. Gothic woodwork and furniture is, necessarily, ecclesiastical in proper habitat as it is in origin. Secular houses, prior to the sixteenth century, contain little or no furniture or woodwork, as a general rule, and there is an absence of fine detail or workmanship. It is possible that such was not appreciated nor desired, by even the very wealthy, until towards the middle of the sixteenth century, when a new style, generally known as Tudor, free from the somewhat rigid qualities of the ecclesiastical Gothic, begins to arise. An era of house building also sets in at this period, when internecine strife ceases, and fortified castles began to be replaced by dwelling-houses or mansions. Gothic details, such as two- and three-centred arch in door-heads, crocketing and cusping in lattice and spandril, still persist, but the free ornament borrowed from France and Italy is superadded, as in the fine screen from Atherington Church, Figs. 3, 4 and 5, where Renaissance detail is superimposed on Gothic vaulting. Briefly, it may be said that, with the dissolution of monasteries, departs the former fine tradition in English furniture and woodwork, and the Gothic ceases to be the national style of England.

Note.—Literal extracts from Act I, Edward VI, C. III, will be more illuminating, as showing the conditions of the lower classes at that period, than any comment can be.

"*That if any man or woman able to work should refuse to labour and live idly for three days, he or she should be branded with a red hot iron on the breast, with the letter 'V' and should be adjudged the slave for two years of any person who should inform against such idler; and the master should feed his slave with bread and water or small drink, and such refuse meat as he should think proper; and should cause his slave to work by beating, chaining or otherwise, in such work and labour that he should put him unto.*"

"*If he runs away from his master for the space of fourteen days, he shall become his slave for life, after being branded on the forehead or cheek with the letter 'S'; and if he runs away the second time, and shall be convicted thereof by two sufficient witnesses, he shall be taken as a felon and suffer pains of death, as other felons ought to do.*"

It is furthermore enacted that the master shall have power:—"*To sell, bequeath, let out for hire, or give the service of his slaves to any person whomsoever, upon such condition and for such term of years as the said persons be adjudged to him for slaves, after the like, sort and manner as may do of any other his moveable goods and chattels.*"

The master shall also have power:—"*To put a ring of iron about the neck, arm or leg of his slave, at his discretion.*"

Chapter III.

The Early Woodworker: His Life, Tools and Methods.

TO endeavour to present the life and conditions of the woodworker from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, his tools, methods, trade guilds and the like, is the scope and purpose of the present chapter. The term "woodworker" has been chosen, as this includes not only the carpenter and joiner, but also the kindred crafts of the sawyer, the maker of furniture and the carver in wood, under the one generic heading.

At the outset several difficulties present themselves, in the attempt to institute comparisons between the various periods. An accurate standard of values, which shall hold good, equally in the fourteenth as in the eighteenth centuries, for example, is very difficult to postulate. We have to consider, first, the remuneration for labour and services, for which a monetary standard will not apply (as money bought far more in the fourteenth than it did in the eighteenth century), the difference in subsistence levels, and the relative number of the hours worked in the woodworking trades at the different periods.

The institution of trade guilds dates from very early times. Guild halls of as early a date as the fourteenth century are known from records and remains, and show that these guilds must have existed. Whether they were formed to protect the workers in the various trades, as far as labour conditions were concerned, or whether they were more in the nature of educational establishments, under the protection and subject to the domination of the Lord of the Manor, it is not possible to say. We know that the mediæval woodworker was protected from time to time by sundry Acts of Parliament, regulating his wages and hours of labour, and that, on the whole, his working life was far from onerous. His desires were fewer than at a later date. Bread, meat and beer constituted his staple diet. Green vegetables were unknown in England. Potatoes were introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh from Virginia, and were first planted in Lancashire where they became popular as a food. This, however, is only in the late sixteenth century. Green vegetables were not introduced from Holland, as an article of diet, until almost the early part of the seventeenth century. Houghton, in his "*Collections in Husbandry and Trade*," a periodical first published in 1681, gives in Vol. I, p. 213, edit. 1728, the first notice of turnips being used

for feeding sheep. Both cattle and sheep, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were much smaller in size than at the present day.

The lack of green vegetables, coupled with the insanitary conditions of life, the absence of any attempt at cleanliness of person, and the lack of knowledge of medicine or surgery (the mediæval physician would not compare, for a moment, in knowledge of his art, with the veriest quack at the present day) probably accounted, in great measure, for the prevalence of plagues. In the fourteenth century, the plague ravaged England in 1348, 1361 and 1369, and in the next century in 1477, 1478 and 1479. From 1455 to 1485 England suffered from civil war, and after Bosworth, Henry Tudor's army brought with it, from Wales, a new disease known as the "sweating sickness," which afterwards penetrated to Germany and the Netherlands, but which, curiously enough, only attacked Englishmen.

Fig. 6.

THE PIT-SAW IN USE.

The two workers are known as the "top-sawyer" and the "under sawyer." It is the "top-sawyer" who guides the saw.

Those who are interested in these mediæval conditions of life and labour cannot do better than read James E. Thorold Rogers' erudite book, "*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*," especially Chapter XII. Thorold Rogers refers, in detail, to the profuseness of diet and the extra-

ordinary uncleanliness of person in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and to the prevalence of plagues. In 1528 and 1529 the visitation was known as the "Great Mortality," and it ravaged the Continent as well as England. Over 1100 persons died in twenty-two days in Hamburg alone. The plague came again, and for the last time, to England, in 1665. It is more than probable that the conditions, cited above, had to be coupled with a famine year, to allow of its propagation on an extensive scale, and famines were very rare during the later Middle Ages.

Workers in wood appear to have been divided into three classes during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We have the King's craftsmen, who were paid at a higher rate, although it is probable that they were more in the nature of directors than general workers. Thus in 1358, June 6th (Patent Rolls), John de Tidolaye is appointed to carry out certain repairs in the King's Castle of Haddeleye, "by view and disposition of Master William de Herland, the King's carpenter" to take the necessary workmen and carriages for the work, at the King's wages, "to stay therein as long as shall be necessary and arrest all those found contrariant and commit them to prison till further orders."

From the above it is evident that the King's carpenter had summary powers to collect men for the King's

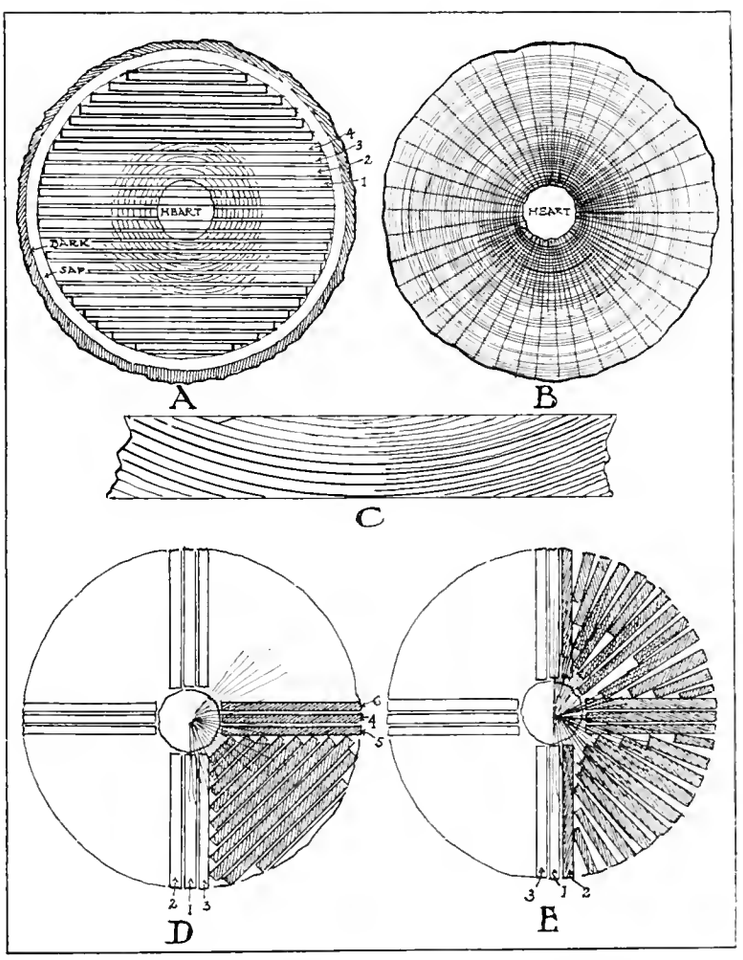


Fig. 7.

THE CUTTING OF OAK.

A. Boards cut across the tree.
B. The trunk showing annular rings and medullary rays.
C. A board cut by the method (A) showing the annular rings.
D. The cutting of quartered boards without figure.
E. The cutting of quartered boards with the medullary ray figure.

Fig. 8.
DRIVING IN THE RIVING-IRON, OR "THROWER."

Fig. 9.
OPENING THE LOG WITH THE "THROWER."

Fig. 10.
RIVING FOR PANEL-STUFF OR PALE-FENCING.

work,[1] and it is probable that these were culled from the general class of artisan, for the time being only, although they may have been paid at a higher rate when so engaged.

Next in order come the wood-workers attached to the Church, who appear to have been lay-brothers as a general rule, and to have been free from the power of the King's master craftsmen. The monasteries maintained large numbers of masons, carpenters, joiners, carvers and illuminators, probably paying very little in money, but lavishly in produce and accommodation. From the high standard, both in skill and artistic inspiration (monastic fifteenth-century work is, obviously, a labour as much of love, as of duty) which the ecclesiastical workers possessed, transcending even those of the King's men, it is certain that their conditions of life must have been easy and enviable.

The third class of artisans were those engaged in work for the laity, from the yeoman farmer to the belted knight and baron, under the guidance, and subject to the dominion of the Trade Guild or the Lord of the Manor. No artisan could leave his village or

[1] The proviso, in these royal mandates, is always inserted, that the King's carpenter has power to collect workmen, "other than those in the fee of the Church."

locality without sanction from the Lord or the Guild, and a strange workman without employment was a rogue and a vagabond, a "masterless man" who could be arrested and summarily hanged without trial. In this regard the laws regulating labour were harsh and stringent. In other particulars, the workman had an easy life, one of plenty and of reasonable leisure. His hours were long, and holidays were few. Thus in 1408, at Windsor, four carpenters received 6d. per day, and six received 5d. for 365 days in the year. Even at the present day, on the Continent, it is customary (or was until the last fifteen years) to work on Saturday afternoon and on Sunday morning. The Windsor records do not indicate, in any way, that the workmen were paid for days on which no work was done. True; the King was usually impatient, and his work had to be executed in the shortest possible time, but there is no suggestion of extra payment for overtime, although such payments do occur in the records where a great number of hours are worked in the one day.

A marked distinction appears to be made between the hours of labour in summer as compared with winter. Five o'clock in the morning to eight in the evening, in summer, was the general rule, but liberal allowance had to be made for "nonschenes" (the midday

Fig. 11.
USING THE ADZE.
Note the natural bent growths of timber, or "knees."

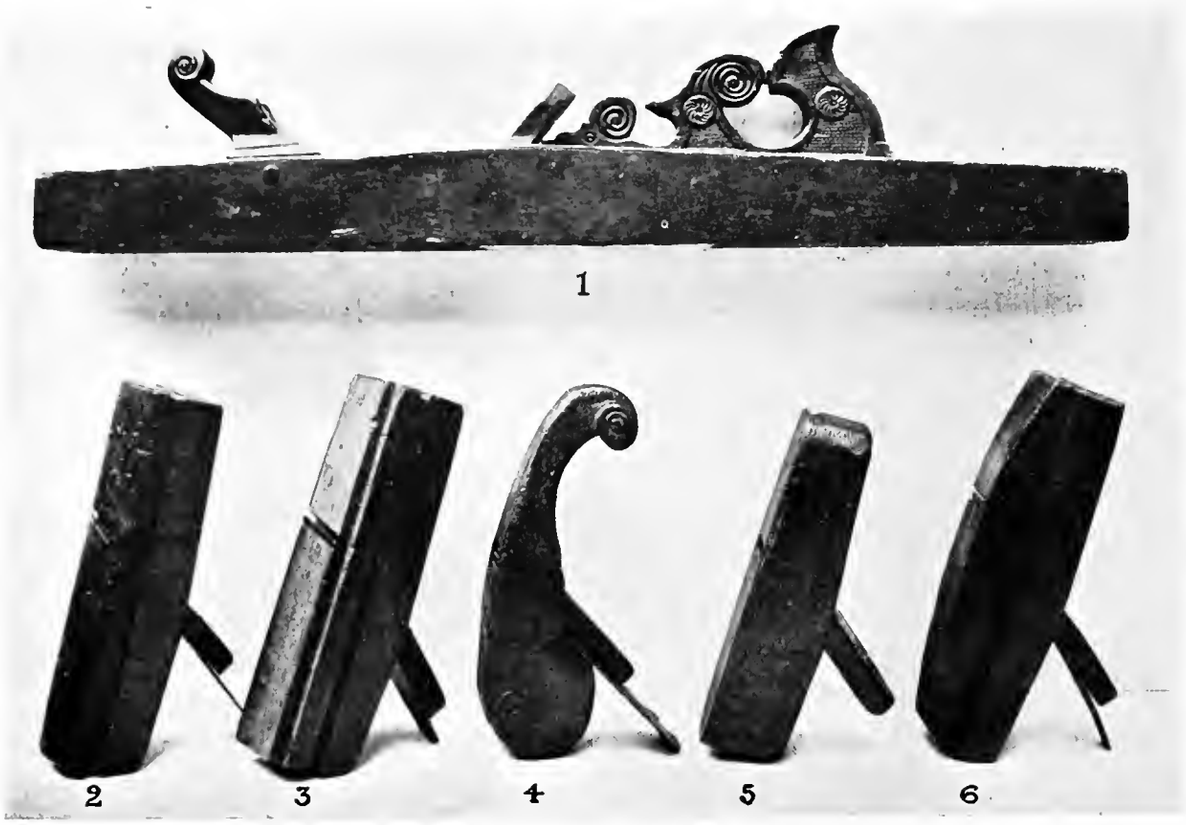


Fig. 12.

JOINERS' PLANES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1. A long or "trying"-plane or "jointer."
2. Large round plane for working hollow mouldings.
3. Rabbet plane for large rebates.
4. Compass plane for shaped surfaces.
5. Smoothing plane.
6. Compass plane.

Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.

meal, hence the modern word luncheon), for "drinkynges"[1] and for "sleepynges,"[2] occupying in all from three to three and a half hours.

The standard wage of the country artisan, in the fifteenth century, appears to have been 6d. per day. In London this was increased from 25 to 30 per cent, but living there was proportionately dearer. His hours of actual labour cannot have exceeded eight in the day, although in the next century this number was extended to ten and even more. Comparisons of wages, reckoned in money, however, are misleading, as the actual value of the currency alters. Before 1543 (when Henry VIII first began to debase the currency) silver contained 18 dwts. of alloy to 12 ozs., and the pound was coined into 45 shillings. In 1546 it was debased to the extent of 8 ozs. in 12! It would be out of place here, to trace the far-reaching effect of this iniquitous procedure on the

[1] This custom has survived in Hertfordshire, where the morning draught is known as a "beever."

[2] This time was allowed in summer only.

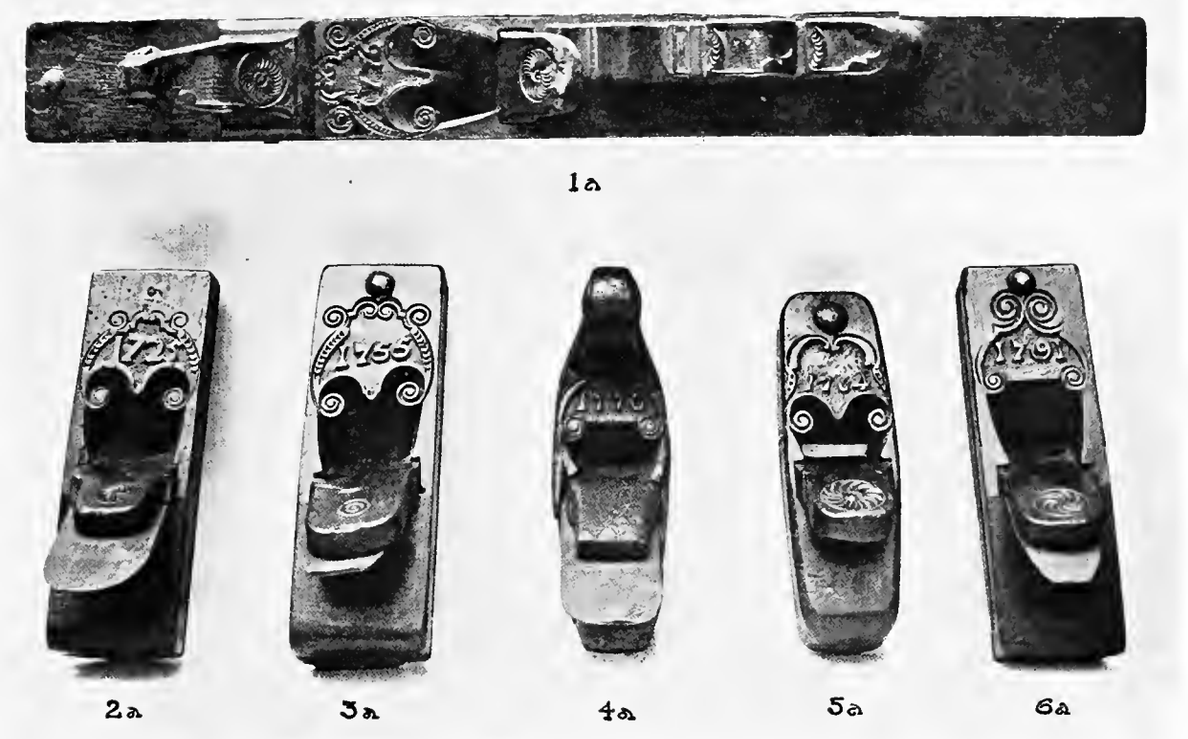


Fig. 13.

THE PLANES SHOWN IN FIG. 12 SEEN FROM ABOVE.

Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.

part of the King to swell his private revenue, but one of the results was to destroy the East Anglian woollen and textile trades with the Low Countries. Payment, at that date, being made by weight instead of by tale, the exchanging of this debased coin for commodities constituted a fraud of the worst kind on the Netherland merchant, a fraud to which the English trader was an unwitting accessory, with the result that when the cheat was discovered, the English currency was not depreciated in exchange value ; it was refused absolutely, and the English trade with the Continent was ruined.

There is an apparent rise in the wages of artisans from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, reckoned in terms of currency, but, actually, the conditions changed steadily for the worse. As Thorold Rogers remarks in Chapter XII of "*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*," "the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the golden age of the English labourer, if we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessaries of life. At no time were wages, relatively speaking, so high, and at no time was food so cheap. Attempts were constantly made to reduce these wages by Act of Parliament, the legislature frequently insisting that the Statute of

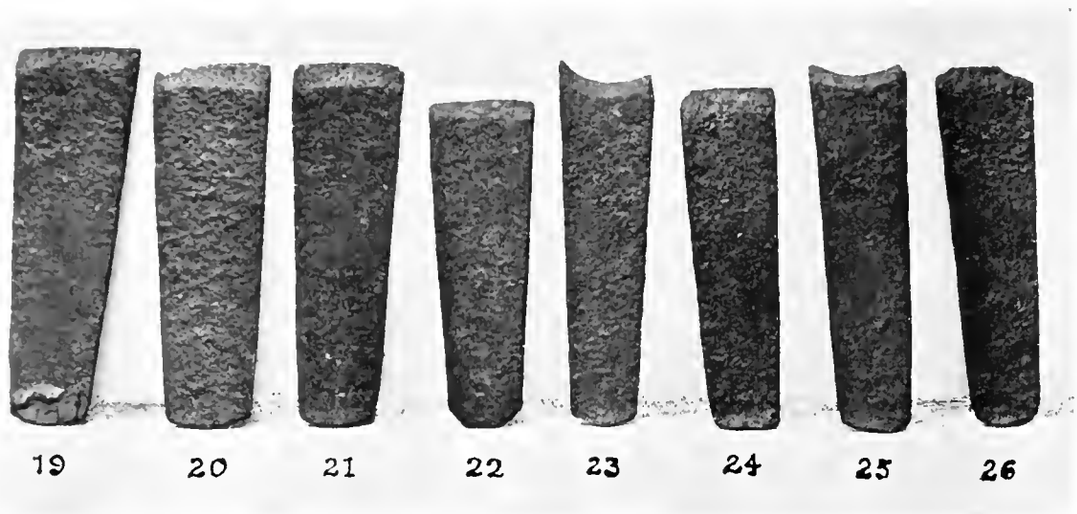


Fig. 14.
PLANE IRONS, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.
Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.

Labourers should be kept. But these efforts were futile ; the rate keeps steadily high, and finally becomes customary, and was recognised by Parliament."

To estimate the real value of this depreciation in wages, though accompanied by a currency increase in rate, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, it is necessary to formulate a subsistence table, to include the food which a man with a wife and two children would require for a year, and to calculate the number of weeks of the man's labour at the various periods which was necessary to purchase this year's provision. It is of little moment whether the list be complete or no, providing that it remains constant in all the estimates. As stated before, food during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although plentiful, was coarse and lacking in variety. The artisan of the eighteenth century had accustomed himself to greater variety, and, possibly, could not have existed on the fourteenth-century monotonous dietary scale, but this fact does not affect the point at issue here. Let us take, for purposes of comparison, a list comprising 3 quarters of wheat, 3 quarters of malt, 2 quarters of oatmeal, with the necessary amounts of beef and mutton for the family, before referred to, for the space of one year. It will be found that, in the late fifteenth century, fourteen weeks' wages of a skilled artisan were sufficient to purchase this amount, whereas in 1530 it would take over twenty weeks' wages, and in 1564, after the proclamation of Elizabeth regulating wages, forty-four weeks' wages would scarcely buy the same amount. In 1593, fifty-two weeks' wages were required, and in 1597, a year of severe famine, when wheat rose

to 56s. 10½d. the quarter, wages were only from £5 10s. 0d. to £6 5s. 0d. per year. In 1593 (not a famine year) with wheat at 18s. 4½d. the quarter, as we have already stated, one year's wages only bought that for which the labour of fourteen weeks was sufficient in 1495. In this year of 1593, also, we see the first indication of a year being paid for as one of 312, instead of 365 days, at rates varying from £10 8s. 0d. to £11 2s. 0d. per year. In the famine year of 1597, with wheat at 56s. 10½d. as compared with 18s. 4½d., wages only advanced by 10s. to 15s. the year. Privation, during this year, among the workers must have been extreme. In 1651, with wheat at 51s. 4d., the sawing of a hundred of planks (six-score feet, always calculated as a day's work) is paid at 15s. per week, the top-sawyer receiving 8s., the under man 7s. (See Fig. 6.)

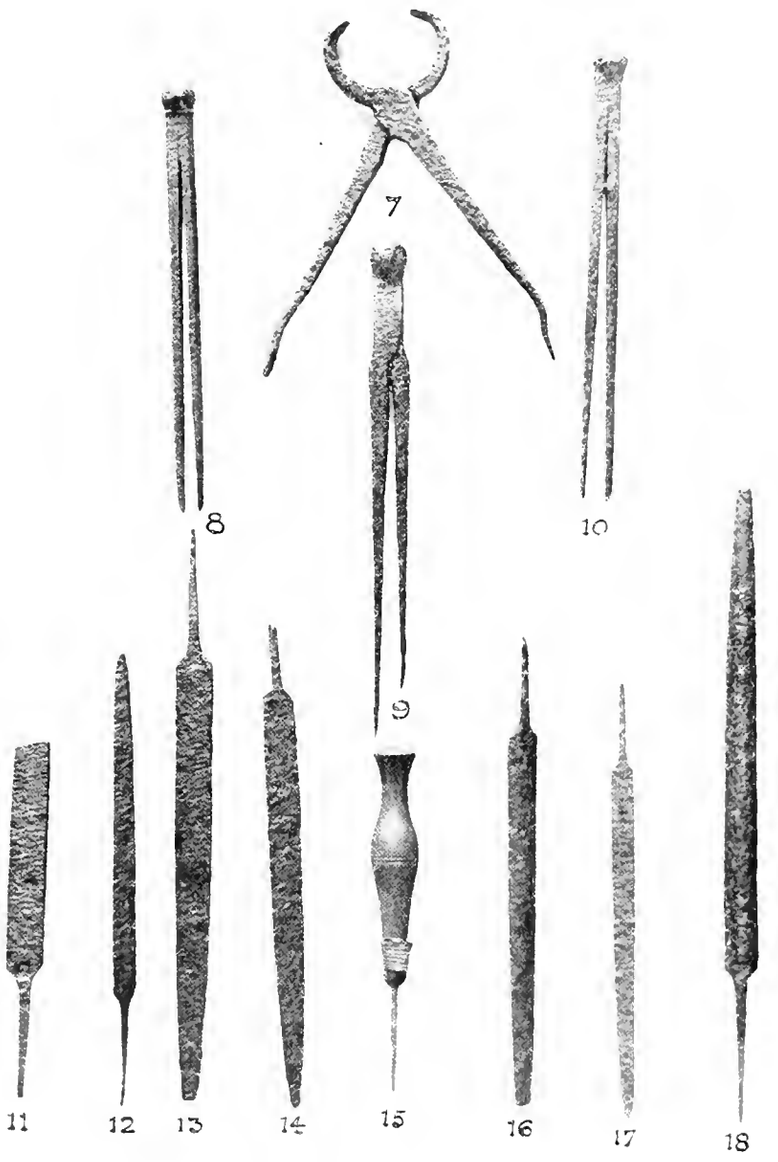


Fig. 15.

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TOOLS.

7. Iron pincers. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17 and 18. Files and Rasps.
8, 9 and 10. Compasses (a "compas"). 15. An awl (a pricker).
From the Barend Expedition. Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.

In 1661 the wages are substantially the same as ten years before, but wheat advances from 51s. 4d. to 70s. 6d. In 1682 wheat is only 43s. 8d., but wages are reduced.

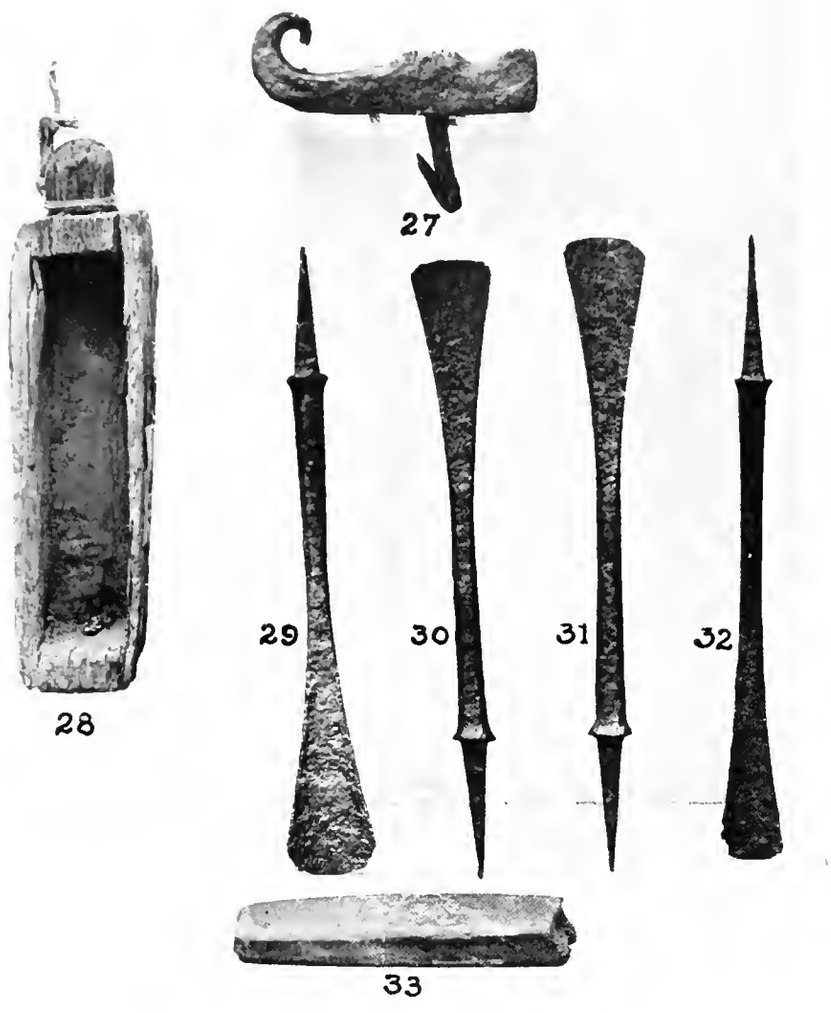


Fig. 16.

VARIOUS TOOLS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

27. A hammer-head. The tang is bent.
28. A carpenter's fat bowl.
29. Gouge. Wooden handle missing.
30. Ditto.
31. Gouge. Wooden handle missing.
32. A chisel (chyssel). Wooden handle missing.
33. An oil-stone (whetting-stone).

Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.

In 1684, at Warwick, with wheat at 42s. 0½d. (to cite Thorold Rogers again) skilled artisans are paid 1s. per day, free-masons (equivalent to our modern piece-masters) 1s. 4d. and plasterers 8d. The winter pay is 1d. per day less. The day is one of 12 hours, from 5 in the morning to 7 or 8 o'clock p.m., according to the season. From this is allowed half an hour for breakfast, one hour for nonschenes, one hour for "drinkings," and, between May and August, half an hour for sleep.

The yearly store, which in 1495 was purchased with fourteen weeks' wages, in 1690 costs £14 11s. 6d., and the skilled artisan's wages are only £15 13s. 0d. and those of a farm hand are about £10 8s. 0d. or less. In 1725 the artisan's wages are £15 13s. 0d. per year, but the cost of the 1495 subsistence standard is £16 2s. 3d.

From 1805 to 1830 the wages of a skilled woodworker were insufficient to support himself, a wife and two children even on the most meagre scale. Pauperism, which is unknown in the fifteenth century, and only begins to be noticeable at the latter end of the sixteenth, now begins to be the rule rather than the exception.

The original Poor Law relief was inaugurated, not only to relieve those who were unemployed, but also those who were engaged in work, but could not live on the wages which they earned.[1] During the nineteenth century, to bring our present enquiry up to date, arose the custom of the poor seeking doles from the back doors, or kitchen regions, of the wealthy houses, in the shape of cast-off clothing, stale loaves, fragments of joints of meat and dripping, and, in many country villages even as late as 1880, this custom of begging was not regarded as disgraceful in any way. Regular attendance at the village church was imposed, as a condition, on the recipients of this charity.

Some reference must be made, in this chapter, to the tools and methods of preparing timber, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but the subject is too wide to permit of more than a brief description.

It is unnecessary to illustrate the felling of timber, nor to deal with any other wood than oak, as this was exclusively used in the early periods. The branches having been lopped from the trunk, with the axe, those of growth suitable for cutting into "knees," for timber roof-braces, being carefully reserved for such use, the log is taken to the saw-pit for cutting. In Fig. 11, to

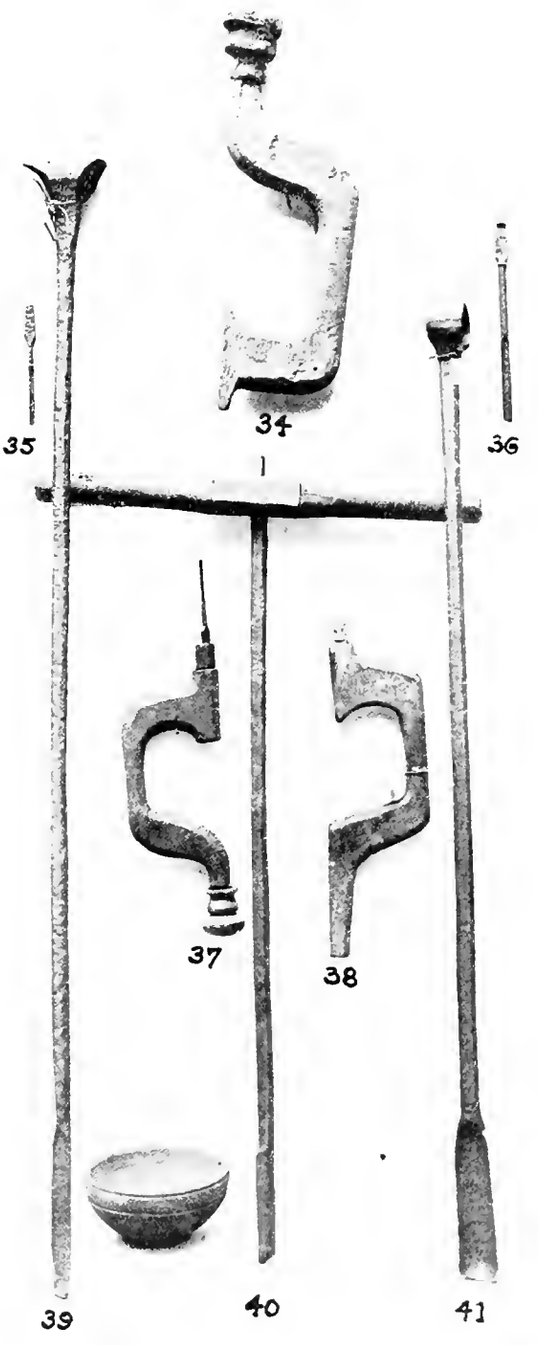


Fig. 17.

TOOLS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

34, 37, 38. Braces (morteys wymbyll).
35, 36. Screw-drivers (eighteenth century).
39, 40, 41. Augers (foote wymbyll).
Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.

[1] See in Thorold Rogers' "*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*," Chapter XIV, the account of the Speenhamland Acts of 1795 and 1800 introduced by Mr. Whitbread.

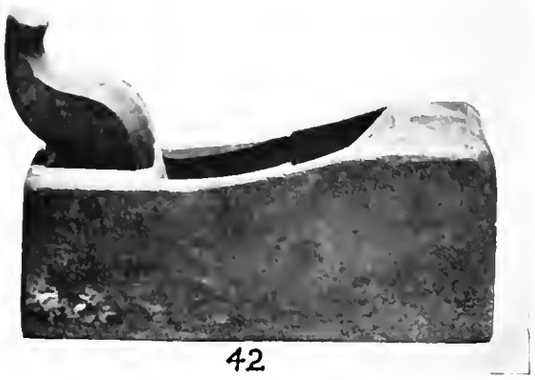


Fig. 18.
A SMOOTHING PLANE.
(Possibly late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.)

which later reference will be made, will be noticed two of these "knees," roughly trimmed with the adze. Fig. 6 illustrates the operation of the pit-saw, a tool used from very early times, with certain exceptions which will be noted later on.

The cutting of oak timber, to produce wood of fine figure and durable quality, is one demanding considerable skill on the part of the sawyer or the river. To cut the log into boards in the way illustrated in Fig. 7a is the most economical way, but the planks produced in this manner are not durable. The annular rings, which will be noticed in the illustration (c), cause the board to cast. Fig. 7b shows the end section of the log before cutting, with the annular rings and also the medullary rays which radiate from the log-centre or heart. If boards are cut exactly parallel with this ray, the maximum figure of the wood is exposed, but the projecting ray is likely to scale out. The river of timber, as distinguished from the sawyer, always splits his oak parallel with the ray, and in many of the early Church doors the hard figure has persisted while the softer parts of the timber have worn away, leaving the ray standing out of the wood. The effect is picturesque, but the method is not the best of its kind.

The mediæval sawyer aimed at cutting his boards obliquely across the ray, at a very sharp angle. Thus the log was first cut into quarters (hence the term "quartering" used to describe the cutting of figured oak) and the first board each way was cut straight. Each succeeding one was cut to follow the ray direction, and between each a wedge-shaped piece was cut away to allow of each new angle being followed. The diagram, Fig. 7e, shows the operation. Fig. 7d shows the method of cutting mild oak without figure, but the ray comes at right angles to each board, with the result that the timber is liable to internal shakes.

The operation of splitting or riving, was practised a good deal up to the end of the seventeenth century, as many examples of the early work show. Figs. 8, 9 and 10 show this operation in three stages. The quartered log is inserted between two heavy rails,—the upper one fixed on the slope so that the log can be wedged tightly into the aperture,—supported on stout framings fixed into the ground. The riving-iron, or "thrower," as it is technically termed, is then driven into the end of the log with a

wooden club, or " beetle." The " thrower " is wedge-shaped in section, in other words, has a sharp fore edge, and has a socket at one end into which a long loose handle can be inserted as a lever.

After the thrower has been driven home, the handle is inserted and the thrower wrenched to widen the split (Fig. 9). It is worked down the log until the riving is completed. Fig. 10 shows the operation of splitting for panel-wood or hedge-stakes. Oak pale-fencing, at the present day, is riven in exactly the same way, as riven timber withstands weather better than sawn.

Fig. 11 shows the use of the adze, the primitive smoothing tool used for large timber. The two " knees " of oak, selected from wood of curved growth, before referred to, will be noticed on either side of the adze worker ; one has already been roughly dubbed into shape, the other is awaiting the same treatment.

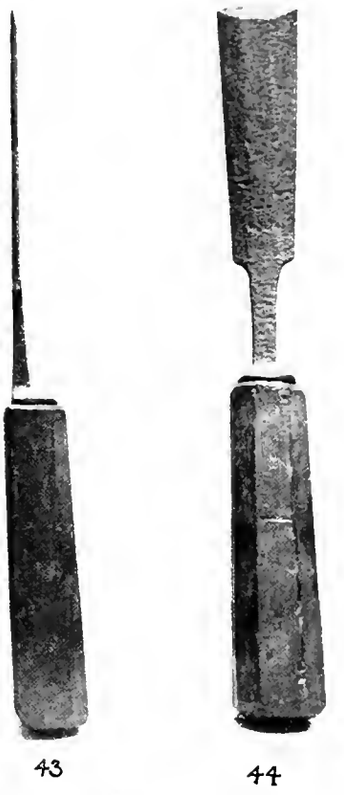


Fig. 19.
TWO VIEWS OF A PARING CHISEL
(Eighteenth century.)

Woodworking tools were greatly esteemed in the fifteenth century, and were handed down from father to son with other possessions. The following is a copy of the will of Thomas Vyell, of Ixworth in Suffolk, of 1472 :—

WILLS AND EXTRACTS FROM WILLS RELATING TO IXWORTH AND IXWORTH THORPE.

RADULPH PENTENEY AL' SPORYER DE IXWORTH 1462
LEGO AD VSUM GILDE S'C'I JOHN I'S BAPT'E
IN IXWORTH. IIJS IIIJD.

THOMAS VYELL 1472.

In die no'i'e. Amen. I Thomas Vyell of Ixworth the yeld', the xj day of the moneth of October, ye yeer of oure lord m'cccclxxij of very sad and hoole mynd and good avysemente, make myn testament in this wyse. Fyrst I beqweth and bytake myn sowle to almyghty god, to yet blessed lady and to all the Seyntes of heven, and myn body to be beryd in the parysh cherche of Ixworth be for sayd befor the auter of Seynt James. Also I beqweth to the heych awter there ijs. Also I beqweth to ye

stepyll of the same cherche vj mares. Also I beqweth to ye pryor of Ixworth ijs, to the Suppryour xxd. Also th Sire Edmund Stowe xxd, to eu'y chanon preste ther xijd and to eche movyse vj. Also I beqweth to the newe freers of Thetford to a trentall xs, and to the same hows ijbs of whette and a combe of malte. Also I beqweth to the holde hows of the same town to a trentall sx. Also the sreets of Babwell to a trentall xs. Also I beqweth myn mass hyngfatte to ye gylde of Seynt Thomas, so that myn wyffe and John my brother have the kepyng thereof ther lyve. Also I beqwethe and assigne to myn beforeseyd wyffe alle the ostylments of myn howssold.
Also I beqwethe to Thomas myn sone, myn *splytyng saw*[1] myn *brood axe*[2] a *luggyng belte*[3] a *ffellyng belte*[4] a *twybyll*[5] a *sqwer*[6] a *mortcys wymbyll*[7] a *foote wymbyll*[8] a *drawte wymbyll*[9] a *compas*[10] and *hande sawe*[11] a *kytting sawe*.[12] Also I geve and beqwethe to Thomas myn sone myn place that I dwelle jn wt. all the purtenance and to his heyers wt. owtyn ende, and yeffe he deye wt. owtyn heyers the seyde place to remayne wt. the purtenance to John myn sone, and to his heyers wt. owtyn ende. So that myn beforeseyde wyfe have the seyde place wt. the purtenances outo the tyme myn assyned eyer be of age to meynteyne it by him selffe. As I gave and beqwethe to Crystyan myn wyffe by forsey myn place wt. the purtenances that was John Knotts for terme of her lyffe, and aft her decesse to remayn to John myn sone to his heyers and assignes wt. owtyn ende. But yeffe it happe the seyde John to Hereryte myn other above seyd place, thanne I wolde and assigne that place wyche John Knotts hadde be solde and dysposyd for myn and for myn frendes sowly, to execucion for this myn laste wylle and testaments. I make and ordeyn befor seyde wyffe and John Vyell myn brother.

Note.—Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute and Suffolk Institute Archæology, Vol. I, p. 108.

Examples of woodworkers' tools from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries are illustrated in Figs. 12 to 19. Those of the earlier date are from the Barend Expedition, the remains of which were discovered in Nova Zembla in 1593. They are, probably, all of Dutch origin, but the relations between England and the Low Countries were so close during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that there is every reason to suppose that carpenters' and joiners' tools were identical in the two countries. The Nova Zembla implements may be considerably earlier than the date when they were found, as tools were preserved for many years, handed down from father to son, as we have seen. They are, unquestionably sixteenth century, and may date from the earlier

[1] A rip-saw with large teeth.
[2] A broad axe.
[3] An adze.
[4] A felling axe.
[5] A pole-axe; a mattock; a pick-axe, an axe with two heads.
[6] A square for truing up edges.
[7] An auger or a brace for boring holes.
[8] A large auger.
[9] An auger with a guide for accurate boring.
[10] A compass or divider.
[11] A hand-saw.
[12] A cross-cut saw.

decades. The collection of eighteenth-century planes is interesting, and nearly all are carved and dated, an indication of the esteem in which they were held by their owners. They differ very little from those in use at the present day, and as the evolution of tools is very gradual,—especially after they reach an efficient stage,—there is no reason to suppose that the planes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries differed materially from these examples of the eighteenth.

Perfection and accuracy of finish is, however, lacking in these tools as compared with those of the present day, and methods must have been even more primitive, and yet it is with these implements and methods that the carpenters, joiners and carvers made those marvels of timber construction, such as chancel and rood-screens and hammer-beam roofs, which, in design, decoration and execution (to say nothing of the enormous time involved) are the envy of the cultured worker in wood at the present day. The primitive joiner used glue or other adhesive sparingly, and only when wide panels were imperatively demanded, such as the painted lower panels in decorated chancel screens. As a general rule, if his panels were too wide for his timber he altered his design. He secured his joints with mortise and tenon, pinned with wooden pegs, and so durable and perfect was his construction that his work has withstood the ravages of the centuries, remaining to-day, mellowed with the passage of time, with colours subdued, but still as beautiful as when it left his hands. It has succumbed only to purposed destruction, such as at the hands of the iconoclasts of the Reformation and the Commonwealth.

When we examine such examples as the canopied stalls, the tabernacle work, the traceried and vaulted chancel and rood-screens, the sedilia and the elaborate timber roofs, alike in constructional as well as decorative qualities, whether in stately edifices such as Beverley Minster, or in small churches such as Ludham, Ranworth, Southwold, Bramfield, Ufford and many other of the East Anglian ecclesiastical buildings,—a choice is, in itself, invidious,—we can dimly apprehend the love for his work and his art which the woodworker of that time must have had, in the golden age of English woodwork in the fifteenth century. To originate and to construct, in as perishable a material as wood, examples of supreme beauty which shall defy the centuries, implies an honesty of method, and a love both of his craft, and of the Church which fostered his art, and directed his efforts, coupled with a care and patience which ignores the passage of time and devotes all efforts to the ultimate goal, the production of woodwork which shall be "fytt and fyne."

Chapter IV.

The Plan of the Early Tudor House.

THE last fifteen years of the fifteenth century witnessed the rise of the House of Tudor from the battlefield of Bosworth, when the arms of the Seventh Henry and the policy of the first Earl of Derby,—who obtained his title in 1485, "as a reward for his invaluable services in placing the crown of Richard Crookback on the head of the victorious Richmond,"—established the line which persisted for one hundred and seventeen years, until England had to look to Scotland for a king to occupy its throne. During this period, architectural work was almost wholly of a secular character. There was little or no reason for adding to the numbers of the great monasteries or religious houses, and half a century later Henry VIII began his work of suppressing these institutions and bridling the power of the clergy. The accession of a new dynasty also tended to beget an era, of building of mansions, for the favourites of the first of the House of Tudor. During the century and a quarter following the accession of Henry VIII, building must have been indulged in, by the wealthy, on an elaborate scale. To instance but a few of the great houses of this period: we have Buckden in 1484, Apethorpe about 1500, Oxburgh Hall three years before Bosworth, and incomplete at the accession of Henry Tudor, Sutton Place in 1523, Compton Wynyates in 1520, Hengrave Hall in 1538, Layer Marney Towers in the first year of the sixteenth century, simultaneously with Apethorpe, Parham

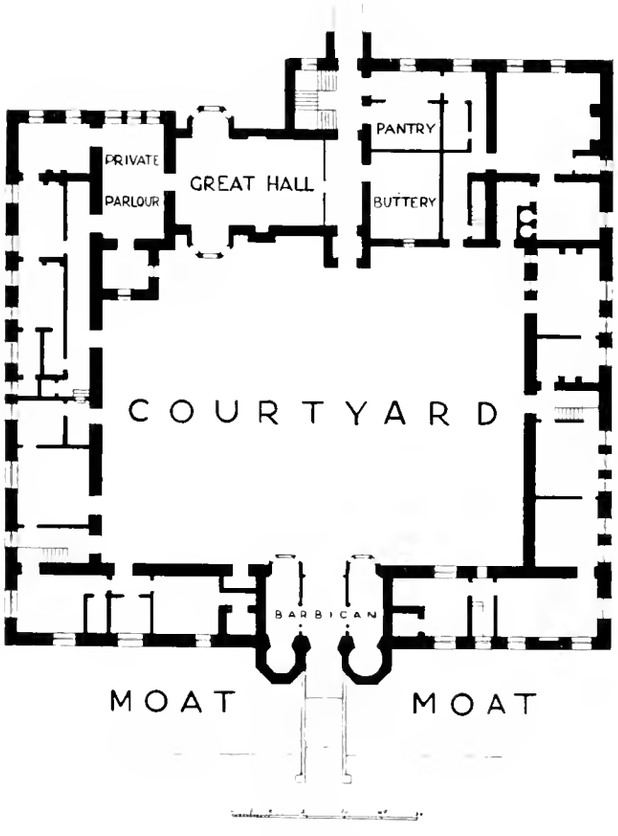


Fig. 20.
OXBURGH HALL (1482-7).
Plan.

Old Hall in 1510 (Fig. 21), Deene Park in 1549 (Fig. 22), Cothelstone Manor in 1568 (Fig. 23), Keele Hall in 1571, Lake House in 1575, and Nettlecombe Court in the last year of the sixteenth century. To this list may be added Moreton Old Hall in 1559, Kirby in 1570, Montacute and Shaw House in 1580, and Doddington in 1595. The opening of the seventeenth century saw Shipton, Salford and Burton Agnes in the building, with Aston and Hatfield shortly to follow.

Although this architectural digression may appear to be out of place in a book concerning itself solely with furniture and woodwork, it will be found that the development of house-planning at this period had an important bearing both on the home life and the furnishings of the aristocratic classes. The evolution of the house-plan was always in the direction of greater privacy for the family. The early Tudor plan was invariably in the form of a quadrangle with central open courtyard. The entrance porch, usually flanked by towers, in the days when the capability of defence against armed aggression was a necessary adjunct to the successful house-plan, had the porter's rooms on either side (see Oxburgh, Fig. 20). Through the porch the open courtyard was reached, and almost directly opposite, on the other side of the quadrangle, was the Great Hall, the principal, if not the only living room of the family. The hall was entered from a door on the side,—usually on the right,—which gave on to a species of corridor,—known in the parlance of the time as "the skreens," formed by partitioning off the hall (see Fig. 24 showing the screen at Ockwells Manor). Above "the skreens," which was ceiled to single-story height, was the Minstrel's gallery (see Fig. 25, the screen in the Hall at Wadham College,

Fig. 21.
PARHAM OLD HALL (1510).
From the Moat.

Oxford). The hall itself, in all the earlier houses, reached to an open-timbered roof, and effectually intersected the house on both ground and first floors. At the opposite end of the screen was the dais, generally flanked at one end by a huge oriel window. Behind the dais were the private apartments of the family. To the right of the screen, on entering, were the domestic offices, the kitchen, buttery, etc.

These Great Halls were not only contrived in large houses and mansions; they often formed a part of smaller yeoman dwellings. In the latter case, the roof timbers, while constructional, were only sparingly decorated as befitted the quality of the house itself. Fig. 26 shows one of these open-timber roofs in the Bablake Schools at Coventry, originally a part of a Great Hall, but now floored into two stories and partitioned off into several rooms. The staircase, another view of which is shown in Fig. 27, was probably inserted in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

The staircases, of which there were several, were small and unimportant in character. To the right and left of the quadrangle, flanking the hall on either side, were the guests' chambers, or "lodgings" as they were styled. A notable feature was the absence of corridors, the rooms leading the one into the other (see Figs. 28 and 29, Compton Wynyates). It was not until nearly the end of the sixteenth century, when the Italian plan came into vogue, with the Italian detail and ornament, that the corridor became a part of the English house. By this time the hall had gradually dwindled in size and had lost much of its original significance. The staircase had grown in corresponding degree, and was usually constructed in the hall itself, which thus began to take on a new function, as a room to hold a

Fig. 22.
DEENE PARK (1549).
The South Front.

staircase, giving access to the upper floors. It is hardly necessary to point out that this office has persisted to the present day.

In place of the former Great Hall, the Long Gallery became a general feature in the planning of the later Tudor houses, and while the open quadrangle form was frequently preserved, one side, usually the left on entering the porch, was constructed of double room depth, the outer length being taken by the Long Gallery, either on the ground or the first floor. From 150 to 200 feet was no uncommon length for these galleries. Sutton Place (Figs. 30 and 31) has both Great Hall and Long Gallery (Fig. 32) and the left flank of the courtyard is only of single-room depth.

At a later stage we find the general plan alters from the open quadrangle to that of the "H" or "E" form. This development, however, does not materially affect our subject, whereas with the dwarfing of the hall and the origination of the Long

Fig. 23.

COTHELSTONE MANOR (1568).

South Front.

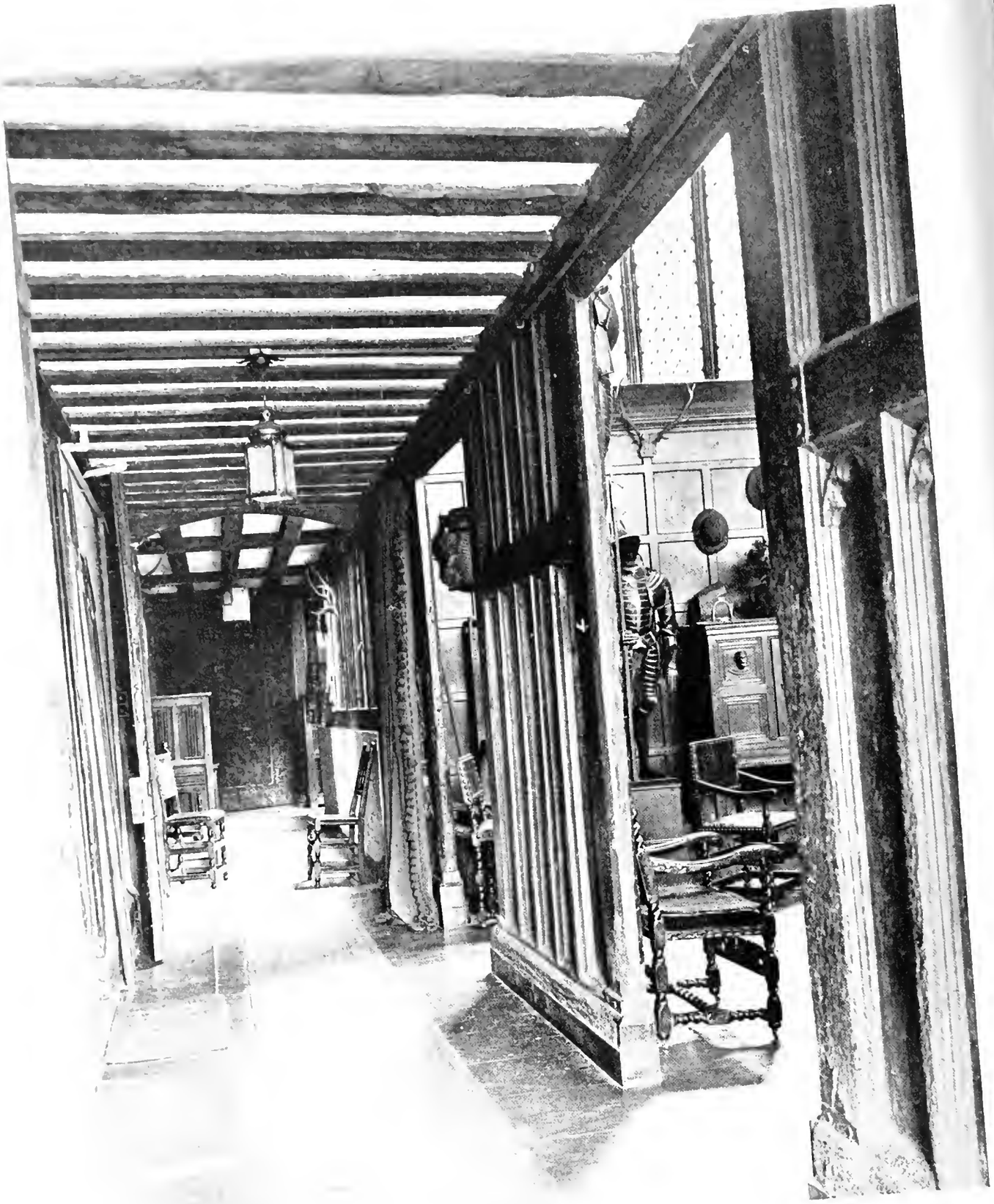


Fig. 24.

OCKWELLS MANOR.

View from the Screen looking into the Hall.

Gallery, and such other private apartments, as the dining-room and the parlour, we get additional wall surfaces where some kind of covering, whether of tapestry or of wooden panelling, was necessary to comfort. With the Great Hall, of huge size and full house-height, any nakedness of wall, of rough stone or exposed brick, was not keenly felt, but as the home life of the family was transferred to smaller apartments, some means of finishing interior surfaces was found necessary, and panellings were the device generally adopted.

The usual furniture of the dais in the Great Hall was the so-called "refectory" table,—a type probably borrowed from the earlier monastic refectories,—generally of great length, seldom less than twelve feet. This was placed lengthwise on the dais,

Fig. 25.

OAK SCREEN IN THE HALL OF WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Early seventeenth century.

and behind it were the chairs of the lord and lady of the house, flanked on the other side by single stools or long benches. The body of the hall was occupied by several long tables of similar description to the one on the dais. Against the walls were the serving tables, one or two livery cupboards, and, at a later date, the enclosed two or three-tier "Standing" or "Court Cupboard." The floor of the recessed oriel in the hall was generally occupied by a large chest, usually erroneously called a marriage coffer, or dower chest. The true marriage coffer was smaller, and always reserved for the private apartment of the lady, as a receptacle for the household treasures in the way of linen or fabrics. Chairs were very rare pieces in these earlier "Great Halls,"

Fig. 26.

TIMBER ROOF IN THE STAIRCASE HALL AT BABLAKE SCHOOLS, COVENTRY.

Late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

excepting as seats of state on the dais. The floor, generally of good honest flags, but sometimes of oak boards, was always left bare; the covering with strewn or plaited rushes being a later degree of effeminacy. The fireplace corresponded in size with the hall itself, the opening rarely less than eight feet in width by six in height, the hearth raised some four to six inches, and garnished with steel andirons and rails to support huge logs.

In the earlier houses, as in the fourteenth-century Hall at Penshurst Place, the hearth was built in the centre of the Hall floor, upon which coupled raking andirons were placed, the fire, of huge logs, being built against these andirons. The Hall roof had a

Fig. 27.

OAK STAIRCASE IN BABLAKE SCHOOLS, COVENTRY.

Late seventeenth century.

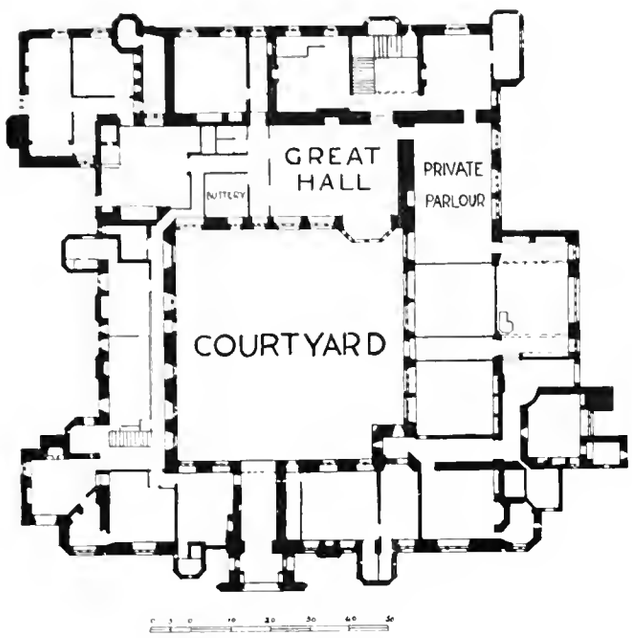


Fig. 28.
COMPTON WYNYATES (1520).
Plan.

central outlet, or "smoke-loover," by which some of the smoke escaped, that is after the hall itself was well filled and the inmates partially smoke-cured. At Penshurst the central hearth is octagonal, of large paving bricks with a flattened curb. It measures eight feet across. The smoke-louvre has been removed, although Joseph Nash, in "*English Mansions of the Olden Time*," shows it in situ in his drawing of Penhurst.

On festivals, such as Yuletide, when the revels were high, and "horse play" the rule rather than the exception, the minstrels' gallery was the usual refuge of the ladies. At other times it was untenanted, its name being rather a complimentary than a practical one, the only chamber instruments being the older forms of the viol, or the more primitive kinds of sackbut, fife or tabor. The virginal,—the forerunner of the harpsichord and the

Fig. 29.
COMPTON WYNYATES.
The West Front.

piano, was of early Elizabethan introduction only, and of continental origin. The psaltery was rare at any time, in England, and was almost exclusively confined to the religious houses.

Next in progression from the monastic establishment and the mansion or castle, comes the Guild Hall, where the crafts united in giving of their best, both in design and workmanship, to the beautifying of their guild house. Sometimes,—as at St. Mary's Hall, Coventry,—very strong ecclesiastical influence is evident, but, when built under the shadow of the Church, these Guild Halls were generally constructed of stone.

Lavenham, on the other hand, which had a large woollen and textile trade with Flanders in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, has a purely secular Guild Hall, constructed of timber and plaster (generically known as "half-timber"). It is shown in its sadly restored condition, with numerous bay windows added, in Fig. 33.

This timber-and-plaster building was a favourite method throughout England from 1400 to 1550, especially in lesser houses of the superior yeoman, or small landowner type. It developed, in the direction of overhanging stories, the carving of visible joist ends, corner posts, barge-boards, mullions and door spandrils, to an extreme decorative limit. It is probable that this carving was not, in its entirety, executed when the house was built, but was added from time to time, as the owner found himself possessed of the necessary leisure or funds. It is impossible, otherwise, to account for the carving of every window

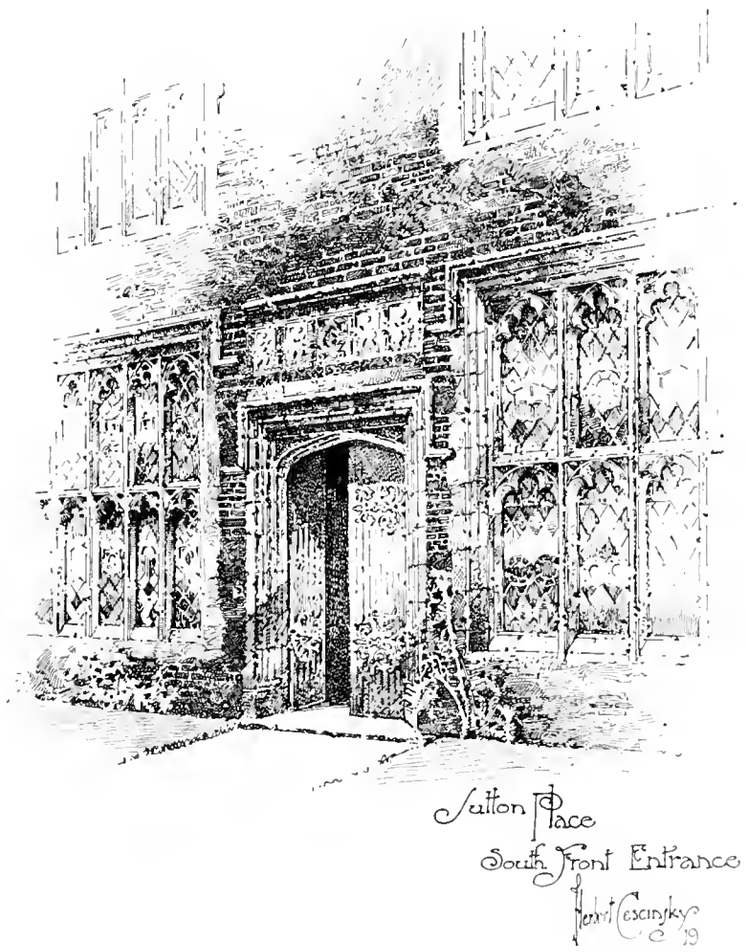


Fig. 30.
SUTTON PLACE (1523).
South Front Entrance.

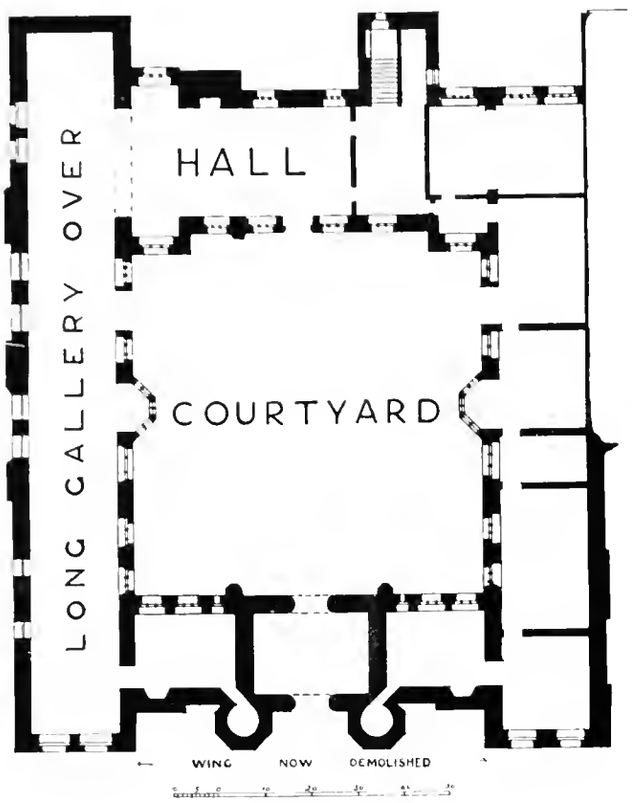


Fig. 31.
SUTTON PLACE, GUILDFORD (1523).
Conjectured original plan.

mullion-member in tiny cottages at Lavenham (although a very prosperous town in the early sixteenth century) and elsewhere in East Anglia.

The very decorative detail of the story-overhang, with the first floor timbers tenoned into a wall-plate, supported on the projecting joist ends, was carried to extreme limits, as the carpenters gained in skill in this domestic timber work. Thus, at Lavenham, there are three overhanging faces on the gable elevation, and an additional first floor overhang on the return wall. This double overhang requires the joist-ends to be taken through, both on front and return elevations, and to allow of two sets of joists at right angles to each other, a diagonal beam was used,—called either a "dragon-beam" or "dragging-beam,"—the outer end of which was supported on the corner post. As all beams, and often the joists themselves, were left exposed to form the ceiling of the rooms below, they were frequently elaborately moulded, forming a beam ceiling, the space between the joists being the actual reverse side of the floor boards of the first floor rooms. In Fig. 34, a very fine panelled room of the mid-seventeenth century, from Thistleton Hall, Burgh, will be noticed the springing of this diagonal "dragon-beam." Apart from the modern treatment of the chimney opening, and the door, this panelled room is well worthy of consideration. It is a typical example of the refined chimney-pieces of its date, reaching to ceiling height in the low rooms of the period, flanked with simple moulded panelling, and with the somewhat sombre character relieved by the plastering and whitening of the ceiling.

Ford's Hospital,—or as it is often styled, Grey Friars, from its proximity to the Franciscan Monastery,—at Coventry (two views of which are given in Figs. 35 and 36), is a fine specimen of half-timber work of the early sixteenth century, of the more

elaborate kind. It was endowed by William Ford in 1529, and built, specifically, as an alms house, for five poor men and one woman. This endowment has been enlarged and modified at various dates, and the hospital, at the present day, is used only for women.

The courtyard, which can be seen in Fig. 36, is about forty feet in length by twelve in width. From this lead several staircases to the rooms of the inmates on the first floor. The front, with its three dormers, each bayed out and supported on coves, and with very richly carved barge-boards, is exceptionally rich and varied in detail. Of these three dormer bays, one is glazed on its return ends, the others being solid in timber and plaster. For a further description of this charming example of early sixteenth-century half-timber work, I cannot do better than to quote from Messrs. Garner and Stratton's "*Domestic Architecture during the Tudor Period.*"

Fig. 32.

SUTTON PLACE, GUILDFORD.

The Long Gallery, 1520.

"The west front presents some of the most beautiful sixteenth-century half-timber work to be found in the country. The whole front is timber framed, black with age, above a stone plinth and covered with a tile roof. In spite of the strongly marked horizontal lines of the sills and cove mouldings, the numerous upright oak posts and the three projecting gabled dormers, produce in effect an apparent height far in excess of what might be expected from its modest dimensions. This simple scheme of a central doorway and symmetrically disposed windows on the ground floor, with three dormers above, the middle one naïvely out of the centre, has been vested with all the charm and wealth of ornament which the wood-carver's craft could produce; yet no one part seems to be over-elaborated, and each, without telling too much, enhances the beauty of the whole." . . . "The resources of the craftsmen engaged were such

Fig. 33.

THE GUILD HALL, LAVENHAM.

Early sixteenth century.

that the design of the tracery varies in every window; as it is so ornate and so small in scale, the entire head above the springing is cut out of one piece, the glass being carried up continuously behind it, and not let into the tracery itself, as is customary in heavier work. But perhaps the richest detail is lavished upon the barge-boards of the gables, some of the running floral patterns being exceptionally fine." . . . "The inner court, though very small, is, perhaps, the most beautiful and richest part of the whole building, and does not seem to have suffered from either alteration or neglect. Wealth and variety of ornament here too characterise the tracery of its windows and the detail of the mouldings.

At the eastern end of the building are some additions to the original scheme somewhat irregular in character; with this exception the whole hospital appears to be of

Fig. 34.

OAK-PANELLED ROOM, THISTLETON HALL, BURGH, SUFFOLK.

Mid-seventeenth century.

George Symonds, Esq.

one date. Over the entrance doorway is a room that is said to have been the chapel; and some traces of its original use may still be discerned, such as the remains of a panelled ceiling and a few fragments of stained glass, which bear so close a resemblance to the quarries in the "Commandery" Worcester, that they may well be by the same hand.

The common hall of the hospital must have been the room over the doorway at the east end of the court, and the names of the various donors are still to be deciphered on the walls: but both this and the original chapel are now used as ordinary rooms of the inmates."

Fig. 35.
FORD'S HOSPITAL, COVENTRY.
Exterior View, West Front, 1529.

The Plan of the Early Tudor House

Not far from Ford's Hospital, in the shadow of St. Michael's Parish Church,—now known as Coventry Cathedral,—is the fine old house shown in Fig. 37. It is probably some half-century earlier in date than Ford's Hospital, and possesses a richly carved wall-plate and corner post. The projecting joist-ends are marked with a similar coving, which appears to have been a local custom. It has a small double overhang on first floor level, but there are evidences of extensive restoration, if not of partial rebuilding. The richly pierced and carved barge boards are worthy of close examination, and the details of the buttress-uprights under the windows are also exceptional.

In the small illustration, Fig. 38, on the same page, one of these half-timber houses

Fig. 36.

FORD'S HOSPITAL, COVENTRY.

View of Courtyard from the Entrance.
Early 16th century.

Fig. 37.

AN OLD HOUSE AT COVENTRY FACING COVENTRY PARISH CHURCH (NOW THE CATHEDRAL).

Showing the carved corner-post and wall-plate with cove under, hiding the joist-ends, story-overhang and pierced and carved barge-boards. The buttress-plasters under the sill of the end gable window are interesting details.

Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 37.

Fig. 38.

Fig. 38.

A SUFFOLK HALF-TIMBER HOUSE IN PROCESS OF DEMOLITION.

Showing wall-plate with projecting joist-ends under. Note the principals and purlins, and absence of ridge purlin. The roof is of the braced tie-beam kind. The openings on the first floor to receive the windows are shown intact. A strong wind-brace reinforces the gable-ends of the house. Part of the stud-partitioning still remains. The roof has strong collars as well as tie-beams.

Mid-sixteenth century.

Fig. 39.

is shown in process of demolition. In the photograph can be seen the projecting joists with wall-plates above, also the braces, principals and purlins. The common rafters have been removed, but the roof framing has been constructed without any ridge purlin. This was a common custom with many of these houses, hence the ridge-sag, which many of these houses exhibit.

Figs. 39 and 40 show two oak carved corner posts from an old house in Bury St. Edmunds, now demolished. The original owner has had his arms introduced into

Figs. 39 and 40.

OAK CARVED CORNER-POSTS FROM AN OLD HOUSE AT BURY ST. EDMUNDS (NOW DEMOLISHED).

Fig. 39 has the arms of Heigham impaling Cotton, and Fig. 40 impaling Calthorp.

Fig. 39, 5 ft. 1¾ ins. high by 11¾ ins. wide.

Fig. 40, 5 ft. 2⅛ ins. high by 15¾ ins. wide.

Early sixteenth century.

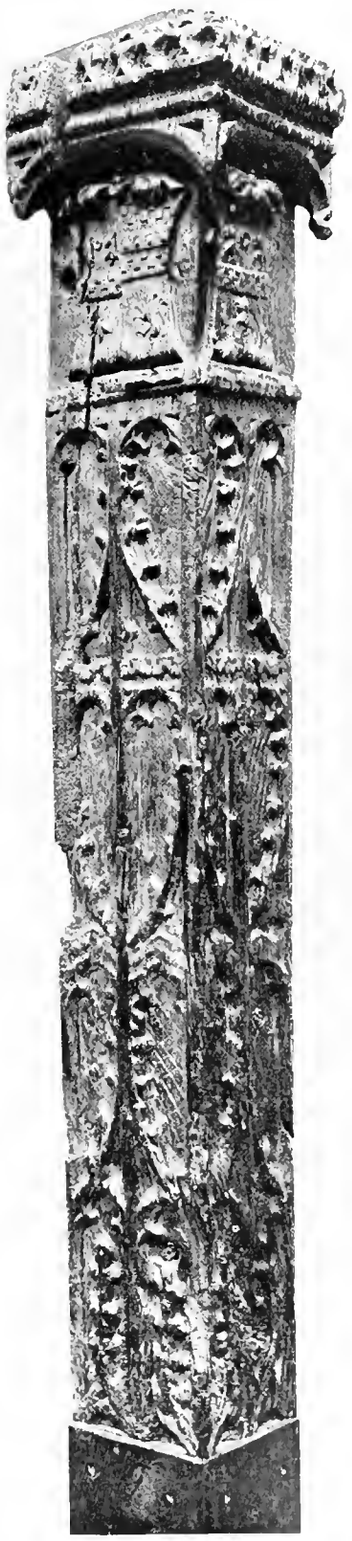


Fig. 40.

the decorative scheme, those of Heigham impaling Cotton in Fig. 39 and Calthorp in Fig. 40. It is possible from these posts to reconstruct the approximate height of the ground floor rooms. They measure nearly 5 ft. 3 ins. each, and allowing a brick plinth of 2 ft., with a deduction of a 6-in. step from the ground to the floor levels, it will be seen that rooms at this date must have been less than 7 ft. in height from the floor level to the under side of the joists, and this in a house of considerable importance. It will be advisable to bear this measurement in mind when a later chapter on long-case clocks is considered, as when the tall clock went out of fashion, in great mansions,

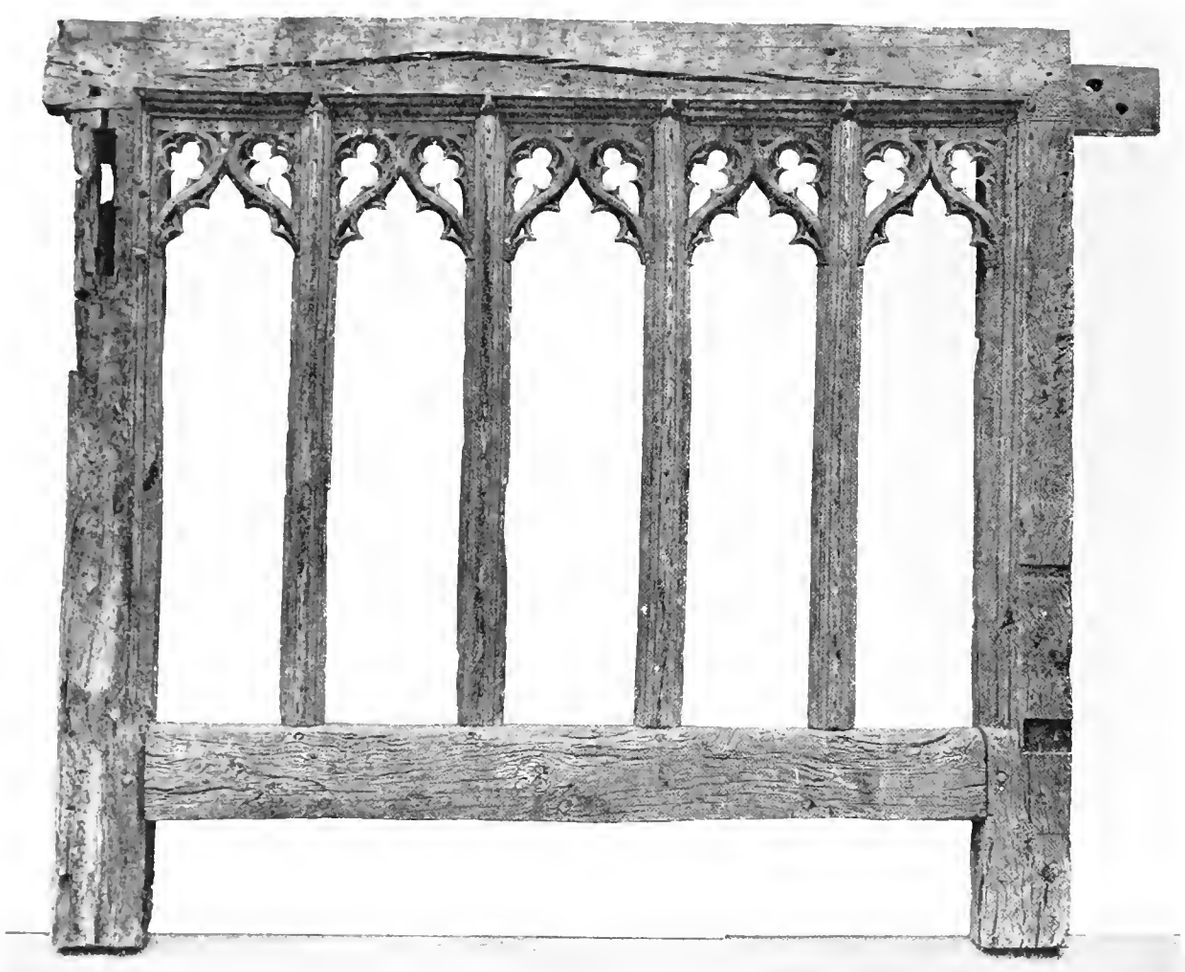


Fig. 41.

FRAMEWORK OF WINDOW FROM AN OLD HOUSE AT HADLEIGH, ESSEX.

7 ft. 3 ins. wide by 5 ft. 11 ins. high.

Fifteenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum.

during the years from 1735 to 1750, it is to houses of this type, which persisted in numbers during the eighteenth century, especially in country districts, that they were relegated, with the result that bases had to be cut and hood superstructures removed to permit of them standing upright in these low rooms. This, however, is a detail for later consideration.

The same elaboration of traceried carving was often carried into the designing of the windows of these timber houses. Figs. 41 and 42 show the exterior and interior views of an oak window from an old house at Hadleigh in Essex, of the later fifteenth century. The fact is worthy of notice that there is no sign of a glazing rebate or fillet.

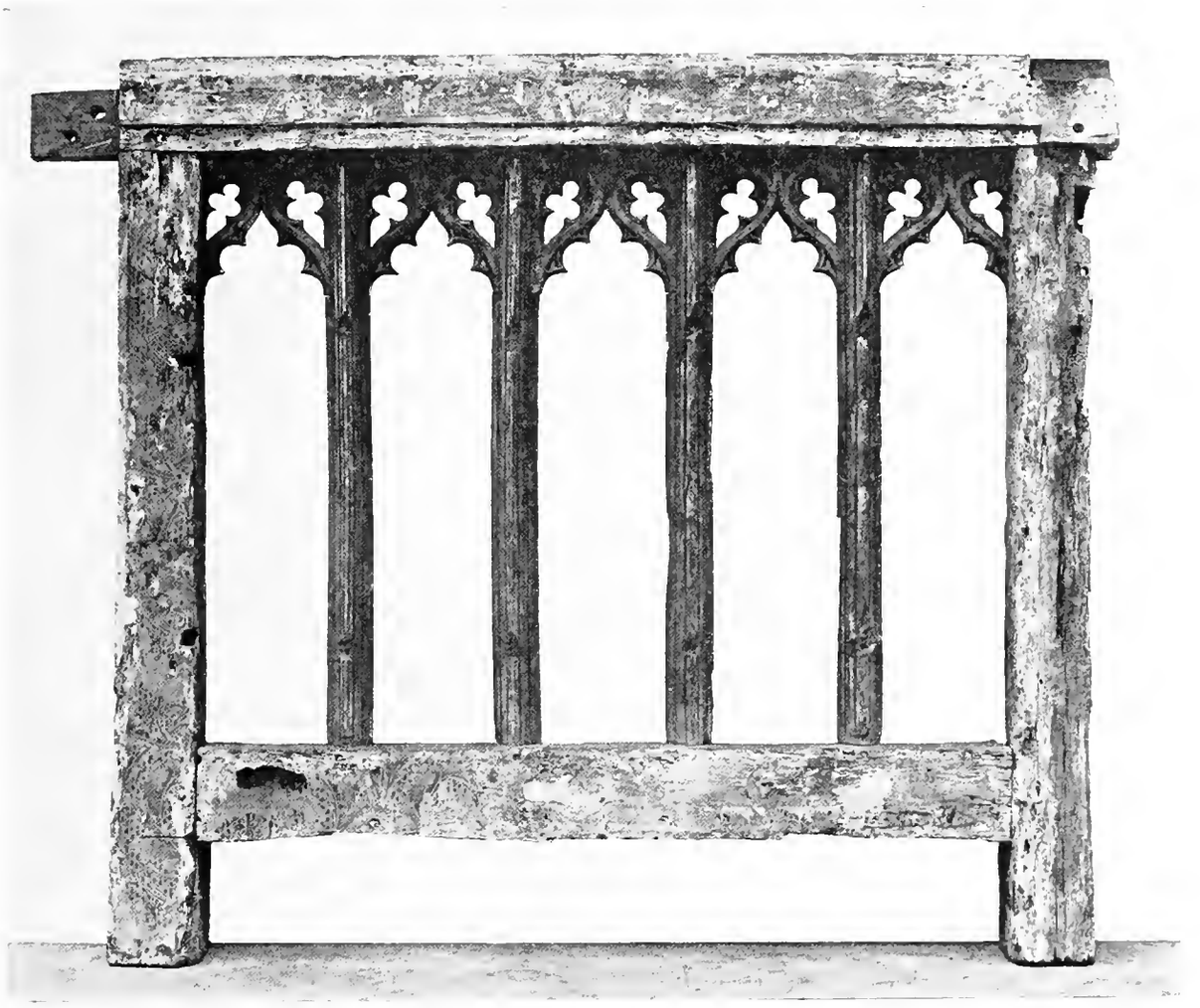


Fig. 42.

THE INSIDE VIEW OF THE WINDOW FRAMEWORK, FIG. 41, SHOWING SHUTTER REBATE AND ABSENCE OF GLAZING REBATES.

It is possible that sheets of parchment, or oiled linen, may have been nailed over the window apertures to keep out draught, but this window was originally made to be left open, as the tracery on both sides is carved and the mullions moulded. Interesting remains of decorated plaster-work can be seen on the inside face. The rebates shown on the interior faces are for shutters only.

Doors and door framings were treated on a similarly elaborate scale, but consideration of these must be deferred to a later chapter where the subject can be dealt with at greater length and detail.

It is obvious from a study of these half-timber houses, built for the moderately wealthy, that the low rooms which they contained must have limited the height of the furniture made for them, very severely. This low ceiling-pitch was, obviously, found desirable for two reasons. In the periods when the science of heating was very little comprehended, cosiness, or even stuffiness, was preferred to over-ventilation, and, also, in the designing of these gabled houses, it was found that a greater height than eight feet per story (as a maximum) made these houses, with their steeply pitched tiled roofs, disproportionately lofty.

The window framing from the old house at Hadleigh, Fig. 41, shows, in the same way as the Bury St. Edmunds corner-posts, that rooms must have been low in pitch, even in the timber-houses of the most elaborate kind. This window is fine and important, even for the fifteenth century, when the craft of the English woodworker was at its zenith, yet the total height is under six feet. If we allow for the cutting of the lower parts of the upright timbers, where they rested on the wall-plate, we cannot add much more than one foot, to give the total height of the room for which they were made. Doors also show, although not so convincingly, that they were intended for low ceilinged rooms. A fifteenth-century door made for a secular house of the timber kind, is rarely over six feet in height, and is usually less even than this.

A curious point suggests itself in this connection ; has the stature of the English race grown since the fifteenth century, or were doors and ceilings kept purposely low ? An examination of suits of armour of this period,—the evidence of which must be beyond question, as armour must fit to a nicety,—will show, I think, that six feet was quite an exceptional height for an Englishman in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Effigies on tombs suggest the same thing, but here the evidence is dubious, as the scale of these figures may be over or under life-size.

It would be interesting, at this juncture, to trace the development of the private apartments in the direction of greater comfort, were this not to anticipate later chapters

of this book. The brief outline here given, however, will be enough to introduce the reader to the early Tudor household of the wealthy type, at the date when the eighth Henry was beginning to resist the power of the Roman Church, to divide his talents somewhat unequally between the exercise of kingcraft, the marriage state, the literary arts,—such as the fulmination against Luther, which earned for the King, and his successors, the title of " Defender of the Faith " (how much of this was the work of Henry VIII or how much properly belongs to Erasmus, it is hardly necessary to surmise here), and the game of statesmanship, which caused the rise and fall of the great butcher of Ipswich and other favourites whom it pleased the royal fancy to uplift and to cast down.

Chapter V.

The Development of the English Timber Roof.

THE timber roof, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, is such a triumph of the English carpenter, demonstrating equally his skill and inventive ability, that some little space must be devoted to its consideration.

Until almost the end of the fourteenth century, the joiner was content to follow the mason at a respectful distance. He imitated him in such things as canopies, tombs, sedilia and the like, and even the early chests, if they were coloured in close imitation of stone, would deceive an eye judging by form and general details only.

The mason hews out of the solid block the piece he is fashioning; the timber worker constructs. The carpenter builds a box with framed ends, front and top, cutting his framing from planks. He makes his framing, tenoning and mortising his styles and rails, fixing in his panels, either in grooves or rebates. The mason has no other alternative than to make his frame and panel in one, from the solid stone. In other words, stone offers greater resistance than wood to crushing weights, but it has not the tensile strength. A Gothic church made from wood or a tie-beam made from stone, would both collapse, the one from the crushing weight of the superstructure, the other from the sagging strain.

It is with the timber roof, as applied to churches and sacred buildings, that the early joiner first emancipates himself from the stone mason's traditions. There is very little hiatus in the evolution, where the timber roof is employed in secular houses, although such decorations as religious symbols, winged angels, and with rare exceptions, painting in colours, are absent. The secular timber roof,—that is, one which is left unceiled, and with its timbers exposed, and, therefore, ornamented in greater or lesser degree,—has a comparatively short life in England. With the decline of the Great Hall and the advent of the Long Gallery, the custom arose of ceiling in, at comparatively moderate heights, and ornamenting the ceiling with moulded plaster. This method had the advantage of permitting of the subdividing, under a large roof, into apartments of moderate size, the partition walls being taken up to ceiling height, whereas with the open timber roof, such subdivision is not possible, without forming

a number of cubicles, the decorative effect of which in a house would be disastrous. Barn partitions offer good examples of this cubicle effect.

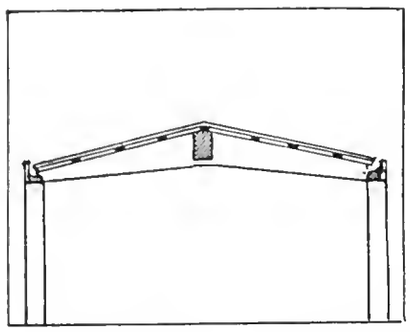
Concerned, as we are here, with origin rather than purpose, there is a very narrow line of demarcation between an ecclesiastical and a secular building, especially in the earlier periods. The builders of churches and cathedrals were not altogether clerical, nor the artisans engaged on work to private palaces wholly secular. Hampton Court and Eltham were built for a great Cardinal ; Westminster Hall for William Rufus, and its present roof for Richard II. Anthony Bec's Hall at Durham Castle is entirely ecclesiastical, both in inception and workmanship, whereas Middle Temple Hall (although late, dating only from the reign of Elizabeth) is secular in about the same degree. In no case, however, does roof construction differ, in essential details, whether it be in palace or church. The development of the English timber roof, therefore, can be traced without any deviation, whether in buildings erected for Royalty, the Church or the laity. The evolution of the constructive principles is the same in all cases.

It may not be out of place here to assume that both the technical terms used in describing the parts of a timber roof, and the principles and problems which arise in its construction, are unknown to the general reader, and to attempt a simple explanation of both. It must be borne in mind that it is not possible, in such an explanation, to be both simple and complete, and the division line between the incomplete and the inaccurate is frequently very narrow.

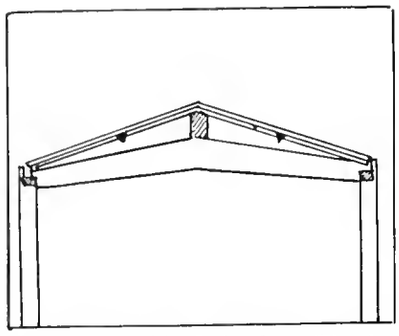
For our present purpose, we can consider roofs under three heads only, flat, lean-to and central-ridged or pitched. The end of a pitched roof forms a gable, hence the term "gabled-roof," which is frequently, but erroneously, used.

A flat roof is formed by laying beams squarely across the walls, at intervals according to the strength required. Transversely across these beams, timbers of lesser size,—known as joists,—are fixed, any piecing in the joist-length being supported on the beam-thickness. Sometimes the joists are framed into the beams, producing a panelled roof of the Somersetshire type. Transversely again across the joists, close boarding is nailed, and on this boarding the final roof covering, of lead or zinc, is laid. Tiles or slates cannot be used on a flat roof, as we shall see later. If a finished appearance be desired, the under side of the close-boarding is decorated with applied tracery or carvings. Rich examples have the ribs moulded and carved, with bosses or foliations at the intersections.

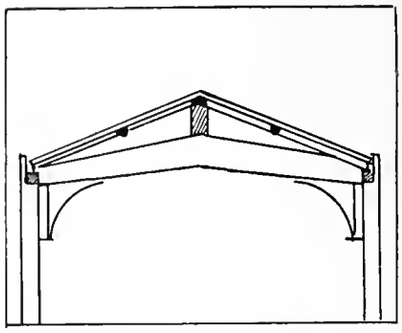
Unsatisfactory as a flat roof is, in collecting rain and snow, as it can only be pitched



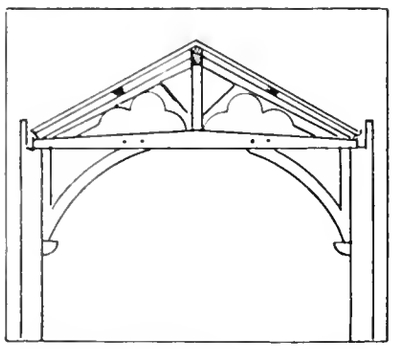
1. Low-pitch roof with cambered-beam.



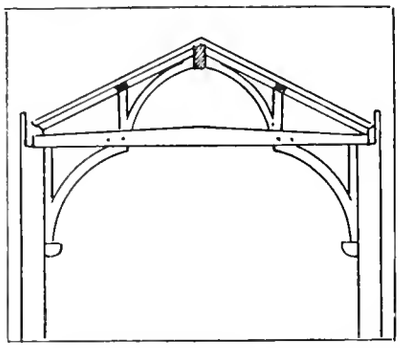
2. Cambered-beam firred up. (Firred-beam type.)



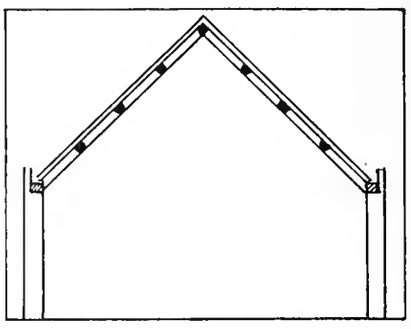
3. Firred-beam roof with beam arch-braced to wall-posts.



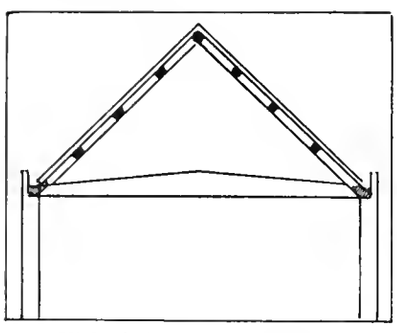
4. Arch-braced tie-beam roof. King-post arch-beamed.



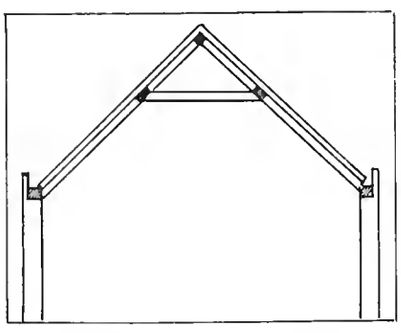
5. Arch-braced tie-beam roof. Queen-posts arch-braced.



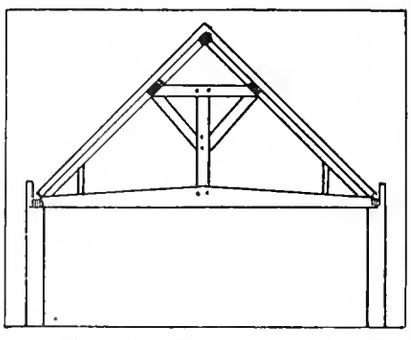
6. High-pitched roof without ties (hypothetical).



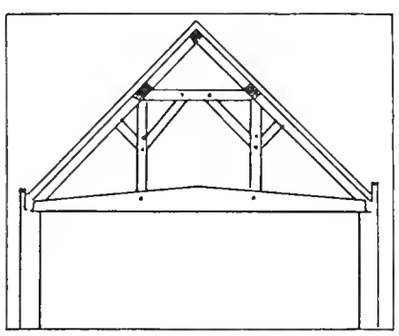
7. High-pitched roof with tie-beam.



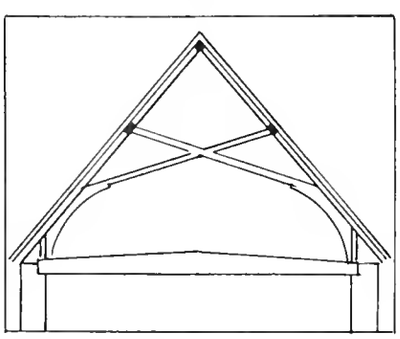
8. High-pitched roof with collar-beam.



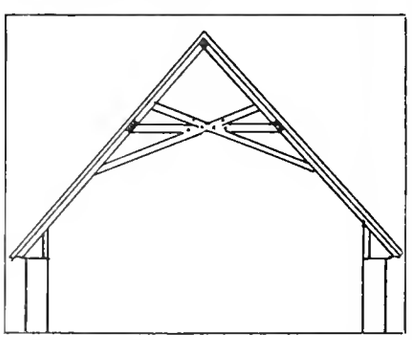
9. Tie-and-collar-beam roof with braced king-post.



10. Tie-and-collar-beam roof with braced queen-posts.



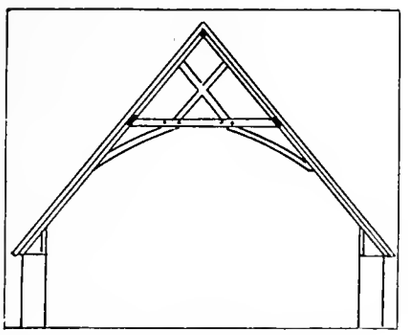
11. Tie-beam roof with scissors truss instead of collar.



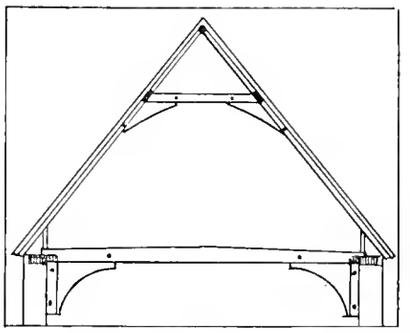
12. Roof with scissors-braced collar without tie-beam.

Fig. 43.

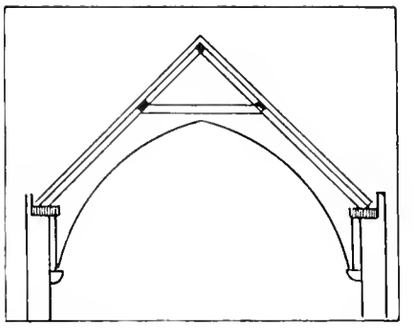
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH TIMBER ROOF.



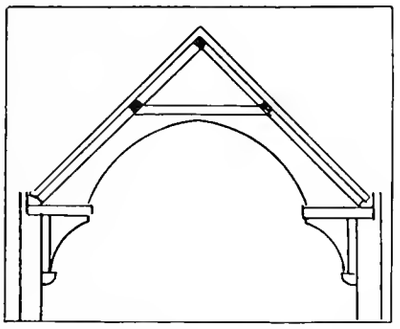
13. Roof with braced collar and scissors truss above.



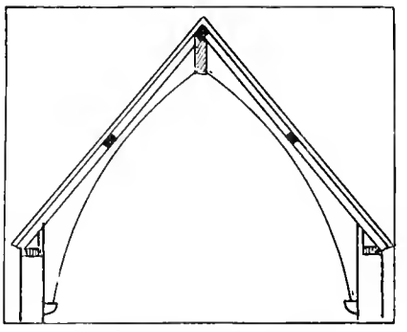
14. Roof with tie-beam strengthened by wall-posts and braces, collar also arch-braced.



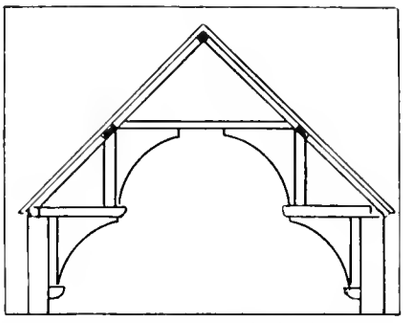
15. Roof with collar-beam arch-braced to wall-posts.



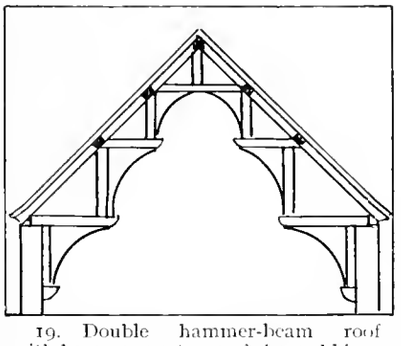
16. Roof with hammer-beams. The braces of the collar are taken down to arch-braced hammer-beams.



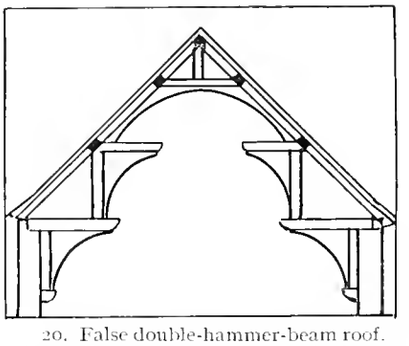
17. Roof arch-braced to wall-posts without collar or hammer-beams.



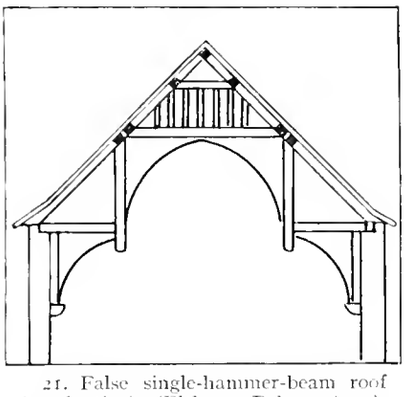
18. Hammer-beam roof with hammer-posts and wall-posts. Both hammer-beams and collar are arch-braced.



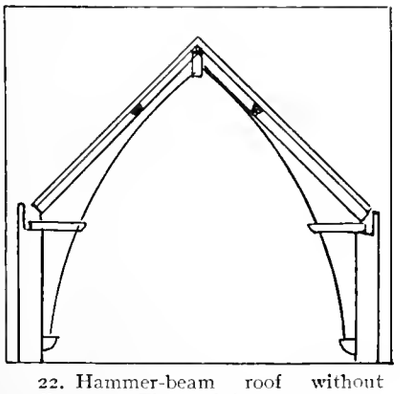
19. Double hammer-beam roof with hammer-posts; arch-braced king-posts from collar to ridge.



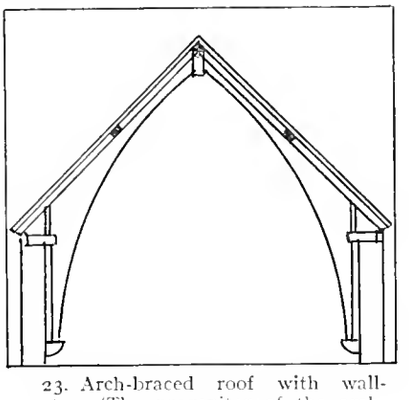
20. False double-hammer-beam roof. The collar-braces are taken to the back of the upper tier of hammer-beams, which, therefore, carry no weight.



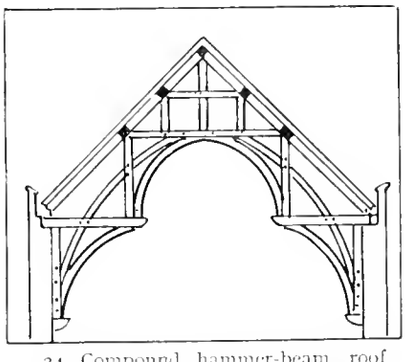
21. False single-hammer-beam roof (pendentive) (Eltham Palace type). The hammer-posts bear on the tenons only of the hammer-beams, not on the beams themselves.



22. Hammer-beam roof without wall-posts. The arch-braces are continued past the hammer-beam to the corbels and act as wall-posts.



23. Arch-braced roof with wall-posts. (The progenitor of the arch-rib of No. 24.)



24. Compound hammer-beam roof with large arch-ribs (Westminster Hall).

Fig. 44.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH TIMBER ROOF.

to allow of a slight fall to the gutters, the points of stability to be considered are only threefold.

(1) The walls must be strong enough to support the dead-weight of the roof.

(2) The beams and joists must be of such thickness that they will not sag.

(3) The ends of the beams, where they are housed into the wall, or where they rest upon its top, shall be efficiently protected against rot or decay.

It is obvious that on these beam-ends the stability of the whole roof depends. With a completely framed roof, the beams are mortised at their ends to receive the wall-plates, which are laid on the wall-head.

With roofs of large span, the liability of the principal beams to sag, and thus to pull away the ends from the supporting walls, dictates the cambered beam, that is, one with either a natural or an artificial upward curve or bend in its length, or one which is deeper in the middle than at the ends. Such a beam, fixed with its concave side downwards (i.e. with its camber upwards), resists any tendency to sag, in a very efficient manner. Examples of cambering will be noticed in the tie-beams illustrated in this chapter.

The outer covering of a flat roof, whether of lead, zinc or other material, is liable to perish by atmospheric action, or to be injured mechanically. Slates or tiles have been found to be more lasting, but their use necessitates the lean-to or the pitched roof. Tiles or slates, with their overlap, must be on a slope, otherwise the rain and snow will percolate, or be driven under the overlappings. Their use, therefore, dictates either the lean-to or the pitched roof, as a logical necessity.

Both these types of roof introduce a new principle, the necessity of resisting the downward and outward pressure, or thrust, which tends to force either the supporting walls out of perpendicular,[1] or the roof itself off the walls. With the lean-to roof, the type largely used in the aisles of churches, this outward thrust is exercised on the one wall only ; with the pitched-roof it is thrown on both.

The later type of pitched-roof commences, at its apex, with a longitudinal beam known as the ridge-purlin, or ridge, from which sloping battens are carried down to the tops of the outer walls, where they are notched into long timbers fixed thereon, known as wall-plates. These battens, which form the skeleton sides of the roof, are called the common rafters.[2] Where, for greater strength, some of these rafters are

[1] Brookland Church, near Romney in Kent (see small illustration on page 60), is a good instance of where the thrust of the nave roof has pushed both the outer walls and the aisle columns out of the perpendicular.

[2] The earliest type of pitched roof has the rafters halved together or "finger-jointed" and pegged at the apex, without ridge-purlin. This type is known as a coupled rafter-roof.

made thicker than the others, at regular intervals, they are known as principal rafters, or principals. Should the rafters be of such length that they are likely to sag, they are supported, generally at half their length, by longitudinal beams, or purlins, running parallel with the ridge-purlin. A roof without either principals or purlins is termed a single-framed roof; with both principals and purlins, it is known as double-framed.

A roof such as the one described above would have two elements of weakness; it would be liable to sag in its length from its ridge and down its outside faces, and excessive wind pressure would tend to push it, together with its wall-plates, either off the supporting walls, or to collapse the two sides together. To correct this tendency to close up, or flatten out,—it is usual to fix beams across the short span. If these ties are fixed at the level of the wall-plates, they are known as tie-beams;[1] if between the principals at a short distance from the ridge, they are known as collar-beams or collars. If it be desired to support the ridge-purlin still further, posts are fixed from the top of the tie-beam, or the collar, to the under side of the ridge. When these posts are central with the tie-beams, that is, when they are fixed directly under the ridge-purlin, they are known as king-posts. Where they are fixed one on either side of the centre of the ridge, into the principals, and at the other end into the tie-beam or the collar, they are known as queen-posts.

To minimise the wind-strain on the sides of a high-pitched roof, and to remove the tendency of the entire roof being pushed off the wide walls, vertical posts are tenoned into the tie-beam or principal and carried down to the wall, on to stone brackets or corbels. A roof with straight beams across its shortest span, reinforced by wall-posts, is known as a post-and-beam roof.[2] With side walls weakened by the insertion of many windows, these wall-posts are very necessary to carry the thrust of the roof below the wall-plate level.

A pitched roof may be either high or low. One formed entirely of cambered tie-beams, with the top camber increased by "firring-pieces," or long wedge-shaped battens fixed to the top of the tie-beams to increase their slope, is known as a firred-beam roof. Its pitch is, obviously, a low one.

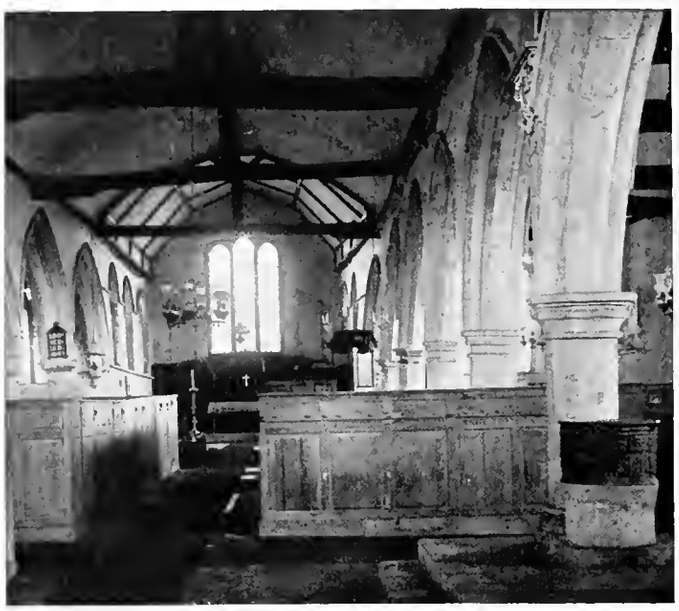
Where a beam or collar is reinforced by a short piece of timber fixed bracket-wise, one end into its under side at an angle of approximately 45 degrees, and the other into a principal or a wall-plate, such reinforcing piece is known

[1] Also known as main collar-beams.

[2] The term is also used to signify a tie-beam roof with either king- or queen-posts above.

as a brace. When this brace is cut in the shape of a segment of a circle or an oval, it is known as an arch-brace.

A series of beams projecting, horizontally, into the interior of the hall or room, either from the wall-head or from the principal rafter at a higher level, acting as cantilevers in supporting posts or braces, and thereby relieving the wall-plates of some of the thrust, constitutes a hammer-beam roof. Where a single row only is fixed,



BROOKLAND CHURCH, KENT.

An illustration of the effect of roof-thrust.

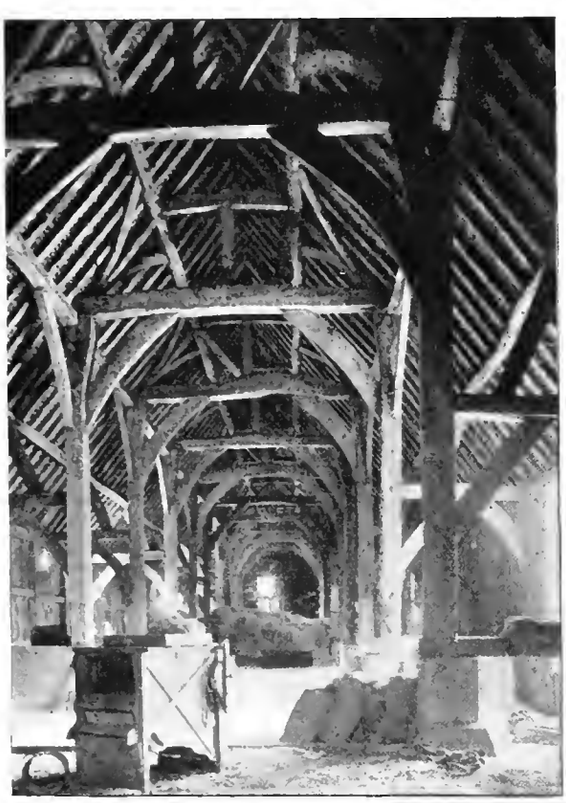


Fig. 45.

HARMONDSWORTH BARN, MIDDLESEX.

Interior showing the roof timbers. Span 37 ft. 0 ins. Length 191ft. 8 ins. Width between posts, 18 ft. 1 in. Height 37 ft. 3 ins. 13 trusses.

at the wall-head, usually coinciding with each principal, but sometimes with each alternate one, the roof is known as a single hammer-beam. Where an upper row exists, above the first, tenoned into the principals at about purlin level, the roof is called a double hammer-beam.

To act as parts of the construction, in their capacity as cantilevers, it is essential that the braces and posts strengthening the principals should be fixed almost at the ends of the projecting hammer-beams, bearing upon their upper surfaces. In some instances, however, the hammer-beams, especially the upper tier, are introduced merely for decorative effect, and the arch-braces bear only at the junction of the hammer-beams with the principals. These roofs are termed false hammer-beams. The hammer-beam

Fig. 46.

YORK GUILD HALL.

A very rare type of a double-aisled roof with posts to the floor.
Mid-fifteenth century.
93 ft. long by 43 ft. span. About 30 ft. high.

itself takes no strain, and fulfils no purpose; it merely projects into the air, uselessly.

Another variety of false hammer-beam, one which is not constructionally sound, is shown in Fig. 44, No. 21. This is known as the pendentive type. The roof at Eltham Palace is an example. Instead of the hammer-posts bearing on the hammer-beams, they are taken down beyond them, in decorative moulded finials, and the ends of the hammer-beams are tenoned into them. The support to the hammer-post, therefore, is not on the hammer-beam itself, but only on its tenon. It is obvious that this method is constructionally bad, as the Office of Works discovered when the Eltham Palace roof was recently restored and reinforced.

A compound roof is one where the span is too wide to be bridged by tie-beams at wall-plate level. The hammer-beams, in a roof of this kind, carry vertical posts tenoned into principal rafters at their upper ends, and the tie-beams are fixed at about

Fig. 47.

LONG MELFORD, SUFFOLK.

The roof of the Lady Chapel (1496).

purlin-level and are, therefore, in effect, collars rather than true tie-beams. Examples of compound or double-aisled roofs are illustrated here in Fig. 44, Nos. 21 and 24. Westminster Hall and Needham Market Church, shown later in Figs. 90 and 83, are examples of these double-aisled roofs.

In view of the above explanation it is unnecessary to enter into a description of single-thrust or lean-to roofs. The principles are the same, and are self-evident.

No better understanding of the details of timber roof construction can be gained than by the study of roofs of barns of the more elaborate type, such as Harmondsworth Barn, shown here in Fig. 45. Barn roofs are necessarily devoid of much of the decorative character usually found in those of churches or mansions, and there are, in consequence, no unnecessary details or parts to distract the attention. Barn roofs have also another advantage; from their utilitarian, as distinct from decorative, character, they exhibit early details and constructional methods persisting to a later date. Being made for use only, their evolution is necessarily slow, as a perfect principle, once devised, was adhered to, irrespective of changing

Fig. 48.
LONG MELFORD, SUFFOLK.
The Nave. Late fifteenth century.

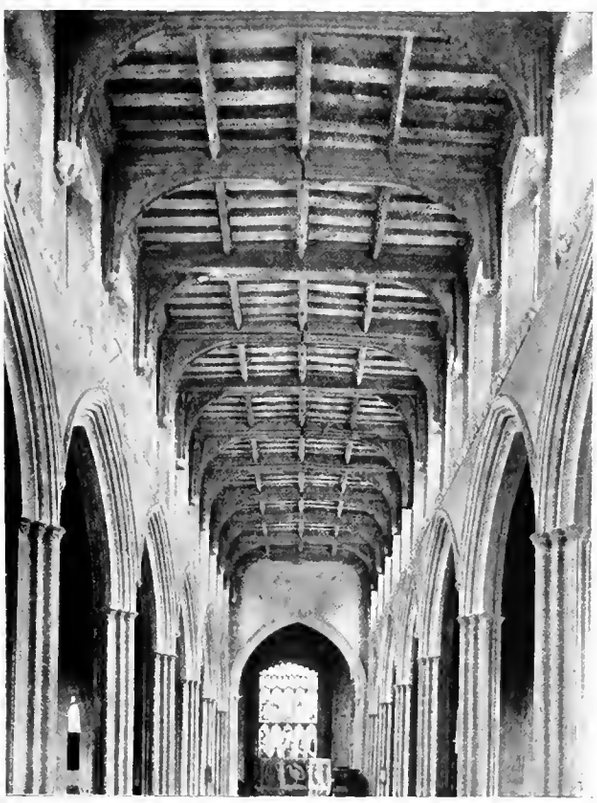


Fig. 49.
STOKE-BY-NAYLAND, SUFFOLK.
The Nave. Late fifteenth century.

fashions, or desires for novelty in decorative effects. The supporting posts, which are the barn equivalents of the domestic hammer-posts, have an advantage in reaching to the floor, whereas, in the great hall, they would be an obstruction. The barn roof, such as in Fig. 45, is, therefore, truly double-aisled at floor level, and it is this form of construction which must have inspired the hammer-post and hammer-beam. The stable properties of cantilevering the hammer-beam would follow when the carrying of the posts to the floor was interdicted. Unfortunately, the supporting of hammer-posts on the tenons only of the hammer-beams (the pendentive type such as at Eltham and Earl Stonham), must have originated from the same source.

Fig. 50.
WETHERDEN, SUFFOLK.
Roof of South Aisle (*c.* 1400).

Fig. 51.
MONKS ELEIGH, SUFFOLK.
Roof of North Aisle. 10 ft. 9 ins. span.

York Guild Hall, shown here in Fig. 46, is a remarkable example of a roof supported by posts from the floor, forming, in effect, a hall with nave and aisles, and is, probably, the only roof of this kind existing in England at the present day. Although unique now, there is no doubt that this form is earlier than the hammer-beam roof ; in fact it must have been the prototype. York Guild Hall is late for this kind of roof construction. Begun in 1446, it was not completed until nearly fifty

years later, and records exist which state that the merchants of York who were convicted of illegal practices were fined, not in money, but in kind, having to find timber and oak wainscot for the Hall.

The roof is low in pitch, with little outward thrust, the great stresses being almost entirely downwards, carried on the massive octagonal-section oak posts with their stone bases. The nave is of the firred-beam type. The aisles are constructed with simple lean-to roofs. The problem of the entire roof, therefore, is one more of size than constructional

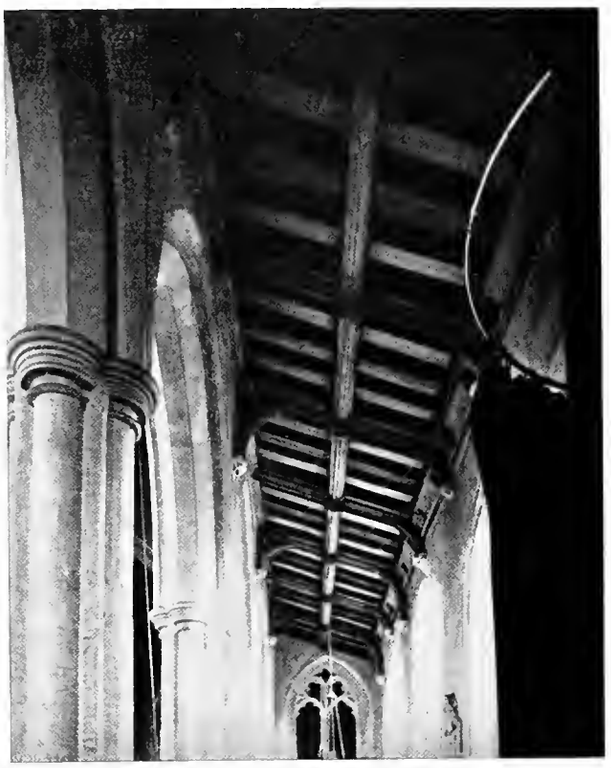


Fig. 52.
ROUGHAM, SUFFOLK.
Roof of South Aisle. Late fifteenth century.

difficulties, involving complicated stress calculations. The principles governing roofs, even of gigantic size, where the timbers are supported from wall-head level, were fully understood, and their advantages appreciated at this date. There are many factors, other than inexperience or timidity on the part of the mediæval carpenter, which may have dictated this aisle-column form of the York Guild Hall roof.

A careful study, and memorising of the roof sections illustrated in Figs. 43 and 44 is recommended, as in the illustrations which follow, of actual roofs, the essential details cannot be shown so

Fig. 53.
TAWSTOCK, N. DEVON.
Aisle Roof. 48 ft. long by 9 ft. span. Fifteenth century.
The western type of panelled roof.

clearly, as in diagram form. Apart from lighting considerations, with concomitant photographic difficulties, the occultation of the one beam or collar, with its superimposed bracing or posts, by the succeeding one, renders the close study of all the points of a roof, from the one view-point only, nearly impossible. With a single photograph, therefore, all the details of a roof cannot always be shown distinctly. Space considerations preclude a redundancy of illustration.

The succeeding illustrations have, for convenience only, been arranged in a progressive order, from the simple to the complex. While there is no doubt that the true evolution of the timber roof actually took place somewhat on these lines, it must not be assumed that a simple roof is earlier in date than a more elaborate one. We have no complete record of very early roofs; the greater number have perished, disappeared and been forgotten long since. At one period in the history of English carpentry, examples could have been illustrated to show the development from type to type, each true to the date of its inception, but that time has passed, many centuries ago. Thus the gigantic roof of Westminster Hall, dating from the closing years of the fourteenth century, is an early example when compared with others existing at the present day, but it is late in the history of the English

Fig. 54.
ST. OSYTH, ESSEX.
Roof of North Aisle.

timber roof. An enormous span of 68 feet between walls would have been impossible to bridge at the dawn of timber-roof construction. It is conjectured that the original roof, which the present one replaced in 1395, was constructed with two aisles and with posts to the floor in the same manner as in Harmondsworth Barn or York Guild Hall, already illustrated.

With the above stipulation, therefore, we can commence with the low-pitched roof of the tie-beam or firred-beam description, and illustrate, in an orderly progression, examples from this simple type to that of the ornate hammer-beam and double-aisled construction. No distinction has been attempted, nor is it possible to make any, between the ecclesiastical and the secular types. Even if the difference between a secular and a sacred building had resulted in a change in constructional design due to such character,—which was not the fact,—there are many examples in which both the sacred and the secular elements enter very largely. That many, if not all, of the earlier roofs were inspired from clerical sources, is probable, but this does not concern us here at present.

Fig. 55.
LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK.
North Aisle (*c.* 1500). 18 ft. span, 05 ft. long.

Fig. 47 is the roof of the Lady Chapel at Long Melford in Suffolk. This is of the cambered-beam type, and possesses, in addition, a rare diagonal beam from which two sets of joists run at right

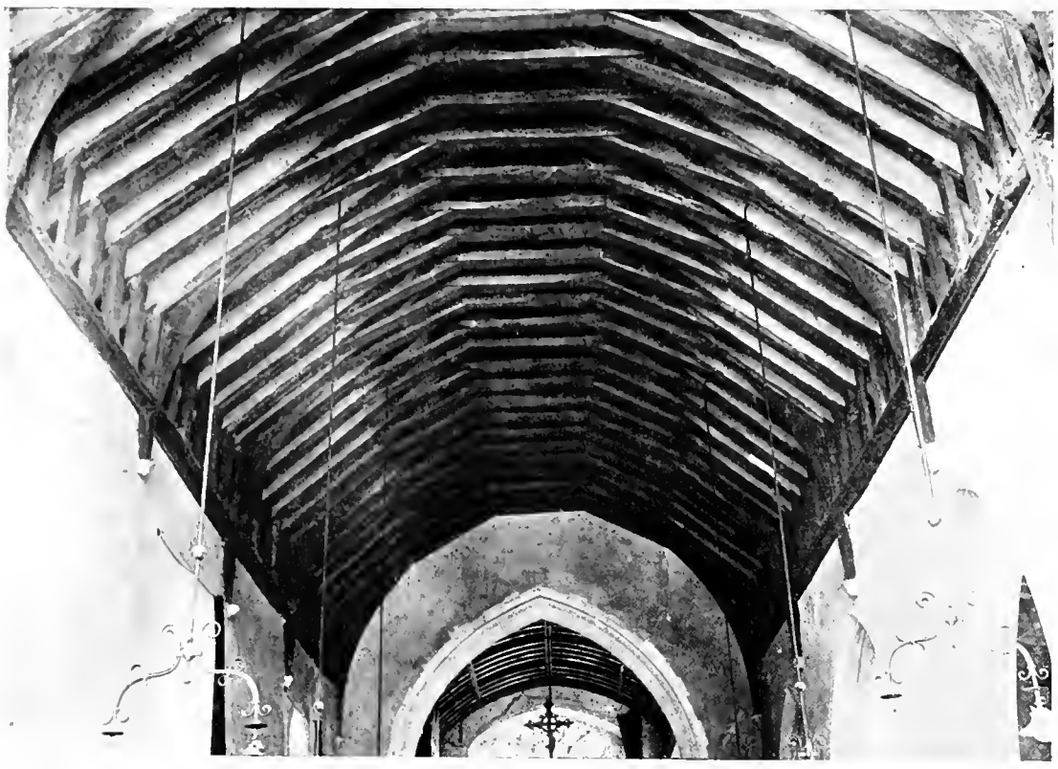


Fig. 56.
KELSALE, SUFFOLK.
Roof of Nave. Span 21 ft. 6 ins. Early fifteenth century.

Fig. 57.
MONKS ELEIGH, SUFFOLK.
Roof of Nave. Span 19 ft. 9 ins. Early fifteenth century.

angles to each other. This is, in effect, another form of the dragon-beam referred to on page 42, although the term is not used in referring to the timbering of a roof, but only to the joisting of a floor. The principle, of supporting two sets of joists or rafters at right angles to each other, is the same in each case, however. The tie-beams to this roof are arch-braced to wall-posts, supported on the capitals of the slender wall columns.

Fig. 48 is the nave roof from the same church, also of cambered-beam construction. The ridge and

Fig. 59.
LAPFORD, DEVONSHIRE.
Roof of the Nave.

Fig. 58.
HORWOOD, N. DEVON.
The Roof of the N. Aisle.

purlins are framed between the beams, the common rafters being tenoned into and pegged to the ridge. Both principal and common rafters are elaborately moulded. The clerestory windows are high, and transomed, and the columns of the aisles are delicate in proportion for the height of the nave, but with these low-pitched roofs there is practically no outward thrust, and the little there is, the wall-posts, to which the tie-beams are arch-braced, take up very efficiently. These wall-posts and the slender columns below them, rest, alternately, on the junctions and the apex of each arch of the aisles.

Fig. 49 is the nave roof of Stoke-by-

Nayland Church, in Suffolk, another cambered-beam roof, but here arch-braced to wall-posts resting on stone corbels instead of the capitals of columns. The low rafter-pitch of this roof, and also the jointing of the arch-braces, can be clearly seen in the illustration. The roof has been considerably restored, and some of the tie-beams replaced, with the original mouldings omitted.

Fig. 50 is the aisle roof of Wetherden Church, a low-pitch with a slight lean-to. The cambered-beams are enriched with carving of square rosettes and bosses, with heraldic shields covering the intersections of the tie-beams with the purlins. Only the alternate beams are arch-braced to the wall-posts; those between are merely tenoned into the carved wall-plate. The winged angels applied at the foot of each of the wall-posts are finely executed.

Fig. 60.
TAWSTOCK, N. DEVON.
The Roof of the Chapel. 40 ft. long by 15 ft. 9 ins. wide.

Fig. 61.
HITCHAM, SUFFOLK.
The Roof of the Chancel.

Fig. 51 is another lean-to roof from the aisle of Monks Eleigh Church. Here the beams are square sectioned, without camber, and rest on the wall-plates, which, in turn, are supported on plain stone corbels, and the last two main beams are braced to the wall-posts, the spandrels filled with early fifteenth-century pierced and carved tracery.

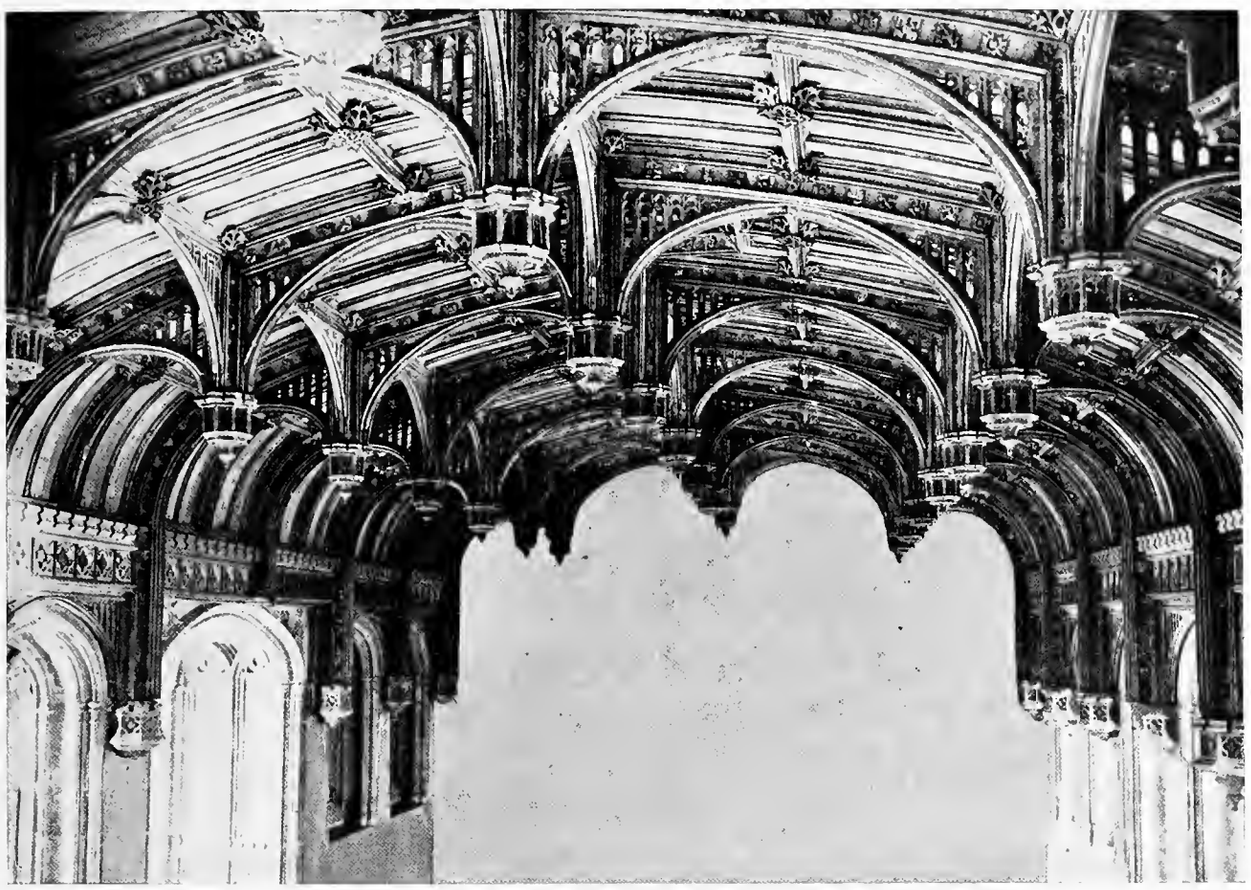


Fig. 62.
CROSBY HALL.
Erected 1470, and re-erected in Chelsea, London, S.W., 1908.
Walter H. Godfrey, Architect.

Fig. 52 is the S. aisle roof of Rougham Church, with each beam arch-braced on the S. wall, but, on the nave side with braces only to each alternate beam, carried down to posts and corbels at the junction of each arch of the aisle.

Fig. 53, the aisle of Tawstock, N. Devon, shows the fifteenth-century western type of panelled roof.

Fig. 54 is the roof of the N. aisle of St. Osyth Church in Essex. Here both the beams and rafters are moulded, and the former elaborately carved. Each alternate beam is arch-braced to the wall-posts, these only having heavy carved pendentives at the intersections.

Fig. 55 is the N. aisle roof of Lavenham Church, in Suffolk, a richer example, with alternate beams, only, arch-braced to the wall-posts. The foot of each wall-post is carved with the figure of a Saint, standing on the stone corbel. The

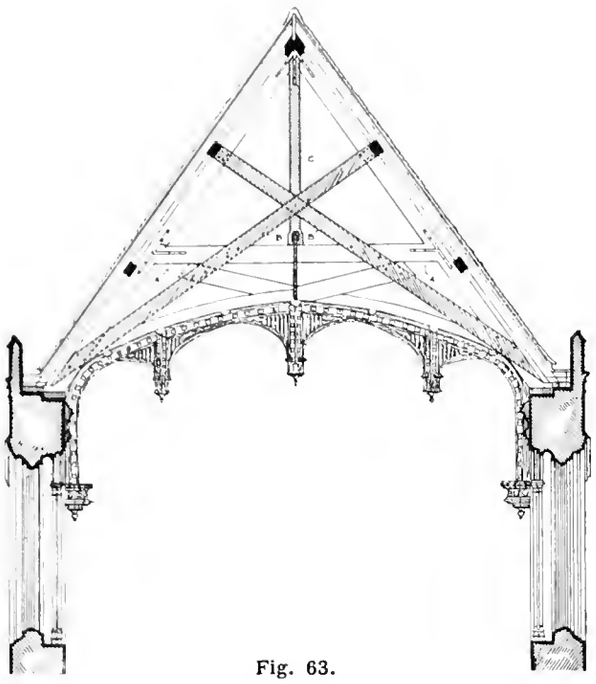


Fig. 63.

CROSBY HALL.

Section through the Roof.
The dotted lines show the finish of the original scissors-bracing. The parts shaded show the additions made by Mr. Walter H. Godfrey when the hall was re-erected. Erected in 1470 for Sir John Crosby, d. 1475.

famous pew of the Spring family, seen in the distance at the side of the chapel screen, will be illustrated to a larger scale in a later chapter.

Figs. 56 and 57 are the braced-rafter types, in each case, scissor-braced above the collar. In Fig. 56 each sixth rafter is arch-braced to corbelled wall-posts, the rafter being framed to the post with a sole-piece notched to the twin wall-plate, and the intermediate rafters are strutted with ashlar-pieces from the wall-plate. In Fig. 57 there are neither arch-braces nor wall-posts. This is an early type of high-pitched roof, and shows the development towards the next form, the barrel, which is really an arch-braced instead of a straight-braced rafter roof. Examples are shown in Fig. 58, Horwood; Fig. 59, Lapford; and Fig. 60, Tawstock Chapel. Fig 59 is ceiled in to barrel-form above the rood-screen. Fig. 61 is a rare double-coved and barrel roof, close-boarded in. The side-covings really mask hammer-beams, which carry the longitudinal hammer-plate. This arch-braced rafter, or barrel-form of roof is typical of Devonshire and Somerset Churches, although it is unsafe, at the present day, to attempt a classification of timber roofs into types of localities, without many drastic exceptions.

The roof of Crosby Hall, Figs. 62, 63 and 64, enters into the logical sequence of timber-roof development here, and also serves to show how narrow is the division line between a roof and a ceiling. Practically all of the visible woodwork of this roof is purely decorative, but the sectional view,—for the drawing of which we are indebted to Mr. Walter H. Godfrey, the architect under whose supervision Crosby Hall was removed from its former site in Bishopsgate to its present location in Sir Thomas More's old garden at Chelsea,—shows that it is really of the scissor-braced rafter variety. In the drawing, the dotted lines at AA show the original bracing, which was in a very decayed state at the time of the removal, and BB the new scissor-brace which was inserted by

Mr. Godfrey, to strengthen the original bracing. At the same time the king-post C was also introduced. Fig. 64 is from an idealised sketch made by Herbert Cescinsky of the Hall before its demolition in 1908, and Fig. 62 shows it in its state as re-erected.

It is only this original scissor-bracing which removes this roof from the category of ceilings. Actually, a ceiling may be defined as the covering of a room or hall which is fixed to, and supported by either roof timbers or the joists of the floor above. Thus, the visible joists, even when carved and decorated, with the interstices filled in by the floor-boarding above, do not constitute a true ceiling, no part of which should be constructional, but merely decorative. Crosby Hall, therefore, can be described as having a ceiled decorative roof, of which the arched-ribs with their wall-posts are the only visible constructional members.

Fig. 65, the nave roof of Haughley Church, in Suffolk, introduces the tie-beam roof. This is distinguished from the cambered or firred-beam types in being higher in pitch, and in consequence, possessing a ridge-purlin, but without collars. In this example, the tie-beam is introduced between each alternate principal only, and is braced below to corbelled wall-posts, and above, from the beam to the purlin. The intermediate principals are arch-braced to wall-posts direct. At the junction of each brace with its purlin, and each principal with the ridge, is an applied pendentive ornament in the form of a carved floral boss.

Fig. 66 is a secular roof from a house in Lady Street, Lavenham, in process of restoration. The tie-beams are cambered, and the rafters are halved at their intersections without a ridge-purlin. To compensate for this a collar-purlin is fixed under the collars, and this is stiffened by a braced king-post from the centre of the cambered tie-beam. The end of the tie-beam, visible in the illustration, illustrates the decay often met with in these early timber roofs, to remedy which it is necessary to take

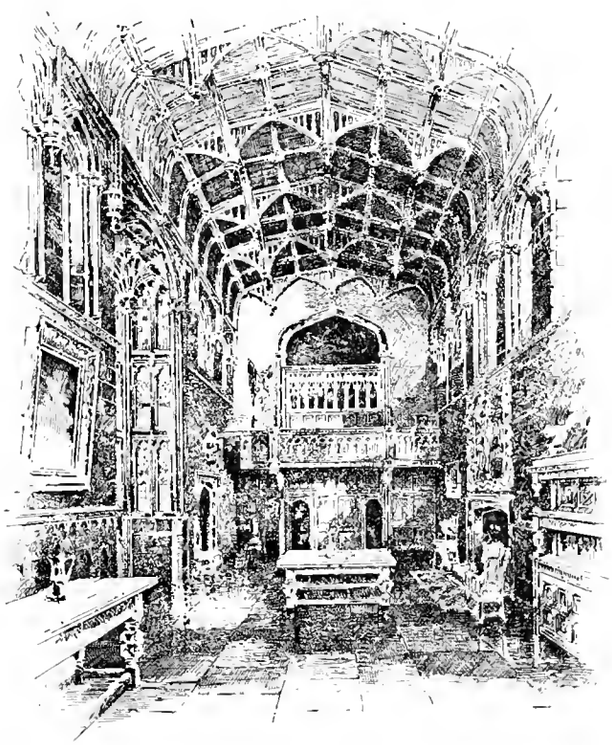


Fig. 64.
CROSBY HALL, BISHOPSGATE.
From an idealised sketch by Herbert Cescinsky made in 1908.

Fig. 65.
HAUGHLEY, SUFFOLK.
The Roof of the Nave. Span 24 ft. 6 ins. Length 58 ft. 4 ins.
Late fifteenth century.

the roof apart to repair it. In the illustration, it will be noticed that each joint has been marked to facilitate the re-erection.

Of similar type is the nave roof of Edwardstone Church in Suffolk, Fig. 67, where the sag of the tie-beams, in spite of their camber, may be noticed. All four braces from the king-posts are tenoned into the collars, instead of the lateral braces being carried past them to the purlins, as in the previous example. In addition to this support, the collars are braced to the rafters, which, in turn, are ashlar-strutted from the wall-plates.

Fig. 68 is the nave roof of St. John's Church, Henley-in-Arden, of the arch-braced queen-post type. The tie-beams have an acute camber, and are arch-braced to corbelled wall-posts. The collars are high and small in scantling, and the roof is without ridge-purlins. So rare is it to find the queen-post type of roof before the Dissolution of Monasteries, that the presence of these posts may be taken as an almost infallible indication of the latter half of the sixteenth century, or even later. St. John's Church has a fine pulpit, which will be illustrated in a later chapter on the development of the English oak chest.

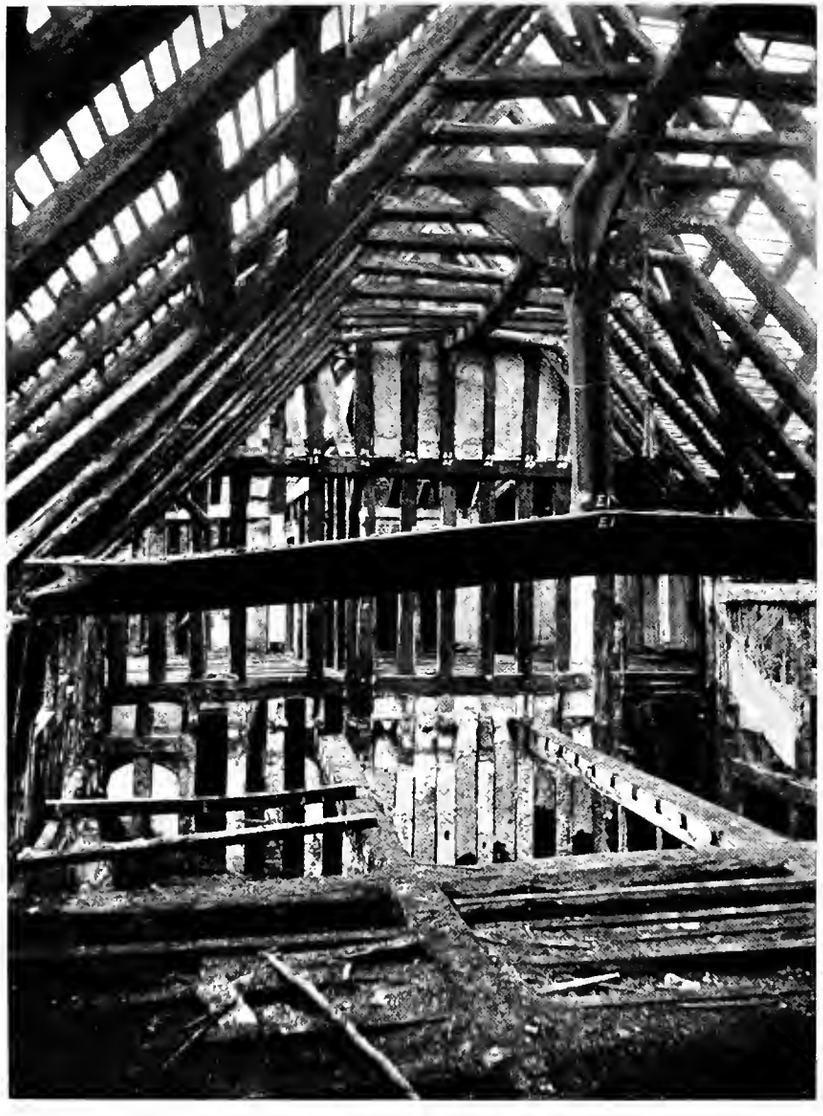


Fig. 66.

HALL OF TIMBER HOUSE IN LADY STREET, LAVENHAM.

King-post type of roof with collar-purlin.
Middle fifteenth century.

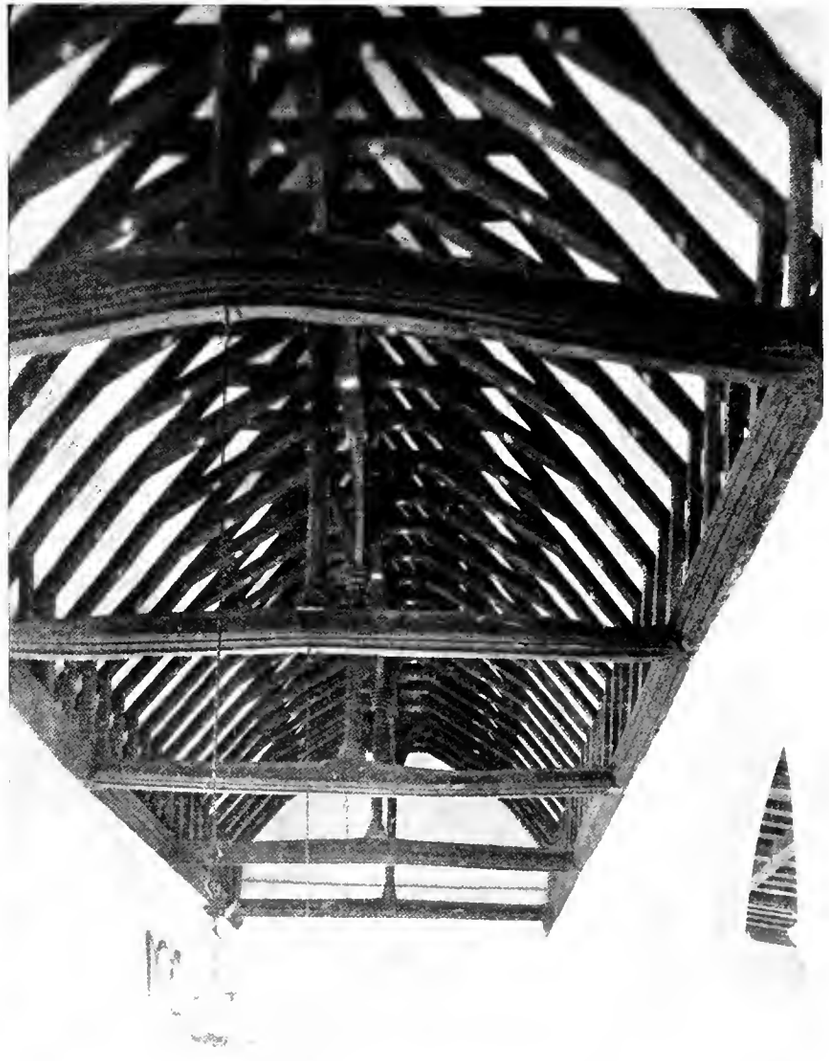


Fig. 67.

EDWARDSTONE, SUFFOLK.

Roof of Nave. Braced king-post and collar-purlin type.
17 ft. 10 ins. span.

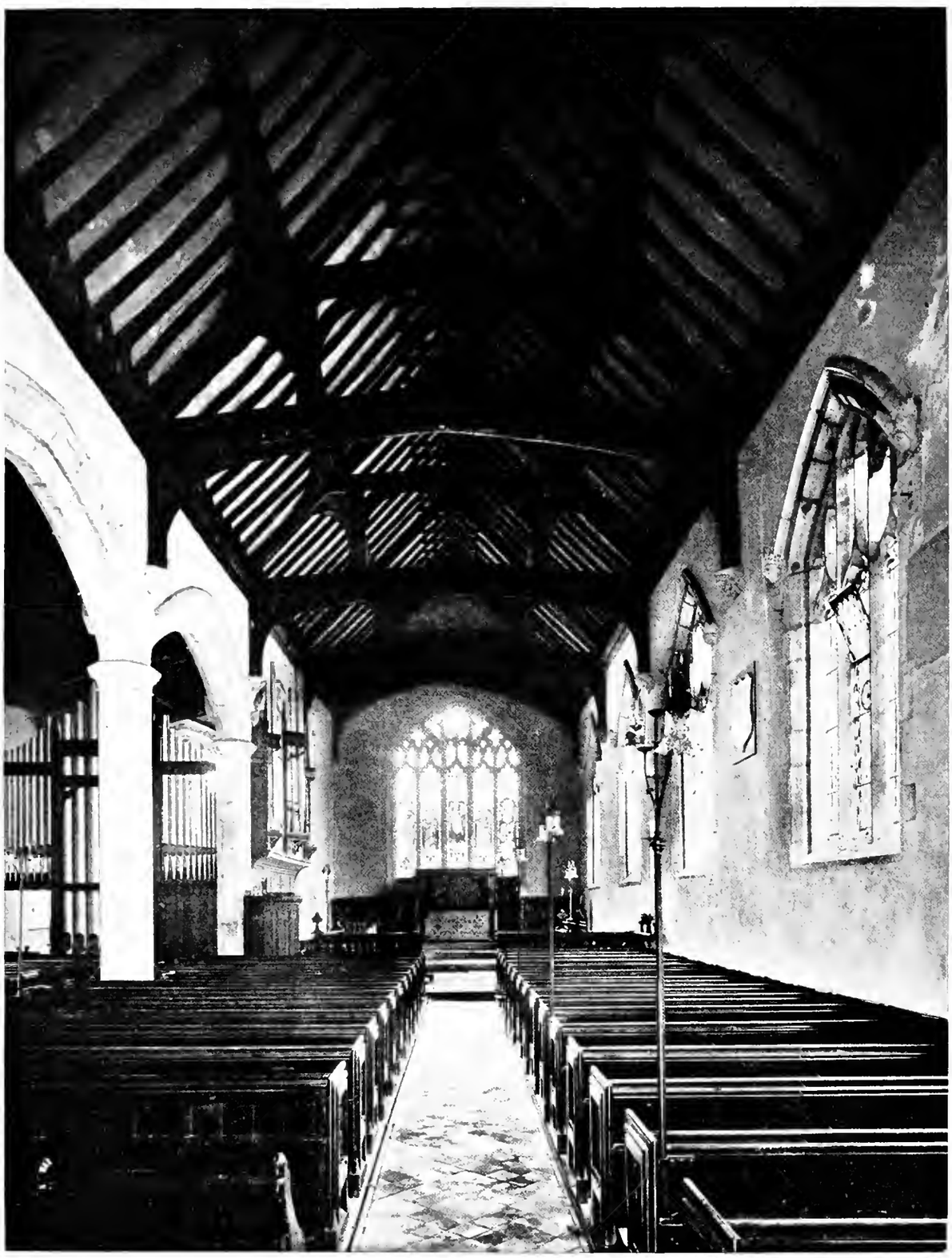


Fig. 68.

ST. JOHN'S, HENLEY-IN-ARDEN, WARWICKSHIRE.

The Nave Roof. Braced queen-post type.

Fig. 69 has a moulded collar-beam, with large arch-braces fixed to the tenons of the hammer-beams, in the pendentive manner. The pendentive ornaments have been cut away to make room for the later flooring. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, this pendentive hammer-beam form of roof is not sound construction, as the strain is carried on the tenon only, instead of the hammer-beam itself.

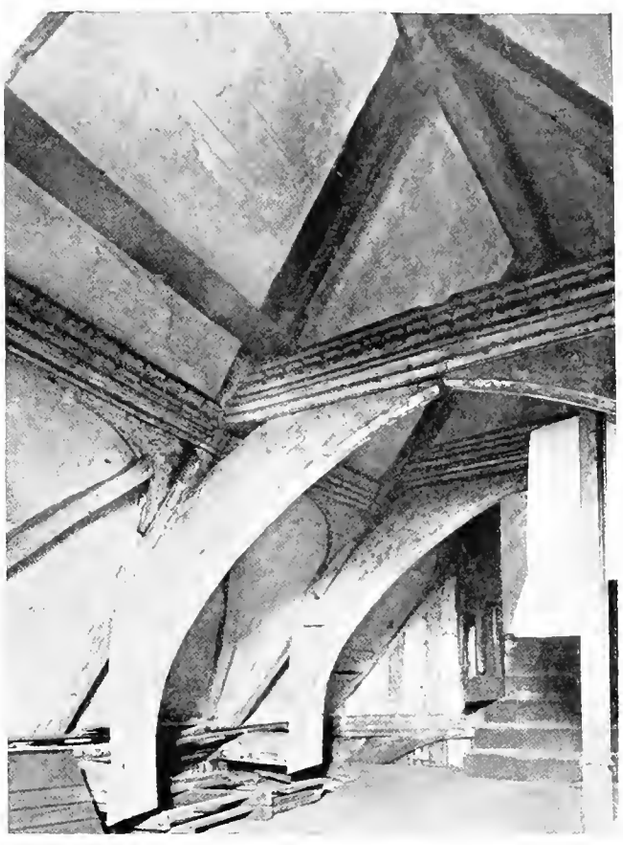


Fig. 69.
HOUSE IN THE BUTTERMARKET, IPSWICH
Known as "Sparrowe's House."
View showing the roof timbers.
Late fifteenth century.
Span 18 ft. 6 ins; Length 30 ft. 0 ins.

Fig. 70 shows the chancel roof of Ufford Church, in Suffolk, which introduces the pendentive hammer-post type. This is a framed collar-truss roof. The crenellated collars have a very slight camber, and are braced above to the principal rafters, and below to the pendant posts. From these latter, arch-braces are taken to the wall-posts slot-tenoned into the principals below purlin-level. From the pendentive posts, shields are fixed at a parallel slope to the pitch of the roof, with curious devices painted upon them, illustrating symbols of the Crucifixion and the Passion. On the right-hand side, in the illustration, the first shield has the scourges, the second the pincers for withdrawing the nails from the hands and feet, the third the dice-horn which was used for the casting of the lots, the fourth the Crown of Thorns, and on the fifth the dice are represented. On the other side the first shows the spear with which the soldier pierced the Saviour's side, together with the sponge on a pole and the ladder used to ascend the Cross, the second the Crucifixion hammer, the third the thirty pieces of silver (in three piles), the fourth a Crusader's sword crossing with a Saracen's scimitar, and the fifth shows the dice again. Winged angels centre each of the great carved cornice.

Fig. 71 is the nave roof of St. Osyth Church, of which that of the N. aisle has already been shown in Fig. 54. This roof is constructed of timbers of light scantling,

with a ridge and three purlins. Of these three the central one has a collar-beam arch-braced to hammer-beams, which in turn are braced to wall-posts without corbels. The roof is simple, without carving, and moulded only on the wall-plate, the under sides of the hammer-beams, and the purlins. The common rafters are ashlar-strutted from the top of the wall-plate. This may be described as one of the earliest types of hammer-beam roof, though of late date.

Fig. 72 is a richly decorated roof from Southwold Chancel. It is of the single hammer-beam and braced-collar type, boarded in below the collar and across the common rafters, thus forming panels between the collars, the principals and the purlins. The collar-panelling is omitted, and the boarding taken to the ridge, in the bay at the western end, this being directly over the rood-screen. The entire Chancel roof is richly painted, that of the Nave having the open timbering without decoration. This example is an instance of the dual ownership of the church, dating from very early times, the nave being the property of, and maintained by, the parishioners, the chancel belonging to

Fig. 70.
UFFORD, SUFFOLK, CHANCEL ROOF.

Framed collar-truss with pendentives, braced to wall-posts.
Late fifteenth century.

the church. The latter, therefore, is nearly always more elaborate than the former. The chancel was generally enriched to its decorative limit before any beautifying of the nave was commenced.

The nave roof of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, Fig. 73, is one of a rare type, which may be described as a vaulted hammer-beam. A purlin,—which becomes, in effect, a cornice,—is tenoned to the free ends of the hammer-beams, the latter being masked by a groined vaulting, carried down to slender columns, with caps and bases, placed between the clerestory windows and supported on carved corbels. The roof above the vaulting is simple, with ridge and two purlins, without collars, arch-braced from ridge to cornice, with winged angels applied, over the cornice, at the feet of the arch-braces.

Framlingham has a similar roof, Fig. 74, to St. Peter Mancroft, but differs in being of the arch-braced collar type. The collars are fixed at purlin level. That the vaulting supports the cornice and hammer-beams, to any extent, is doubtful. It is mainly, if not entirely, a decorative detail.

Fig. 75 has cambered collars arch-braced to hammer-beams. The base of each of

Fig. 71.
ST. OSYTH, ESSEX, NAVE ROOF.
Collar-beams braced to hammer-beams.
Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 72.

SOUTHWOLD CHANCEL.

Single hammer-beam and braced collar type.
Panelled and Decorated, Rood Celure.
Mid-fifteenth century.

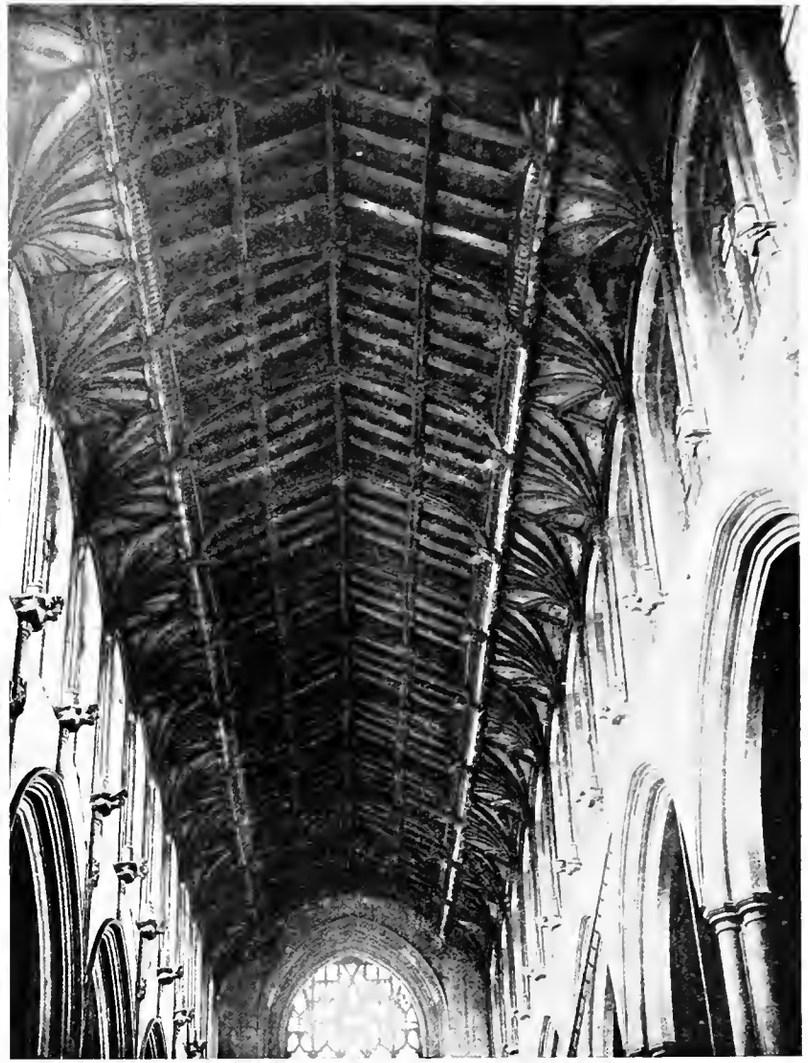


Fig. 73.

ST. PETER MANCROFT, NORWICH.

Single hammer-beam, arch-braced frame Couple type.
Vaulted cornice masking hammer-beams.
26 ft. span.

Fig. 74.
FRAMLINGHAM, SUFFOLK.
Roof of the Nave. Vaulted hammer-beam type (*c.* 1500).

the wall-posts, above the corbel, is niched, and carved with the standing figure of a Saint. Each hammer-beam is carved in the form of a prone winged angel. Another example of this embellishment of hammer-beams will be noticed, later on, in the instance of Westminster Hall and the roof of the Law Library at Exeter.

Fig. 76 is a roof of similar type to the preceding, with a resemblance strong enough to suggest a common origin for both. In no instance, however, is one church roof a facsimile of another. Here the one collar is braced direct to its wall-post, but the next in order has the carved hammer-beam intervening. Each wall-post is without corbel and the collars are not cambered. A moulded king-post connects each collar to the ridge.

Wetherden Church, in Suffolk, has an elaborate roof, Fig. 77, of the double hammer-beam pendentive type. The collar-beams are moulded and cambered, centred with carved floral bosses, and each is arch-braced to the upper tier of hammer-beams,

the braces being taken so far back as to constitute a false hammer-beam roof. Each collar is king-posted to the ridge-purlin. From each principal, just below its junction with the hammer-beam, a braced hammer-post is carried down, past the next tier, fixed only by tenons at the ends of the lower hammer-beams, and terminating in pendentives carved in the form of standing Saints. The wall-posts correspond with the hammer-posts and are carved in the same manner. Although this is a rich and elaborate roof, considered as an example of constructional carpentry, it cannot be classed, from this point of view, with the next illustration, Fig. 78. Here

Fig. 75.
ROUGHAM, SUFFOLK.
Roof of Nave. Collars braced to hammer-beams. Late fifteenth century. Span 19 ft.

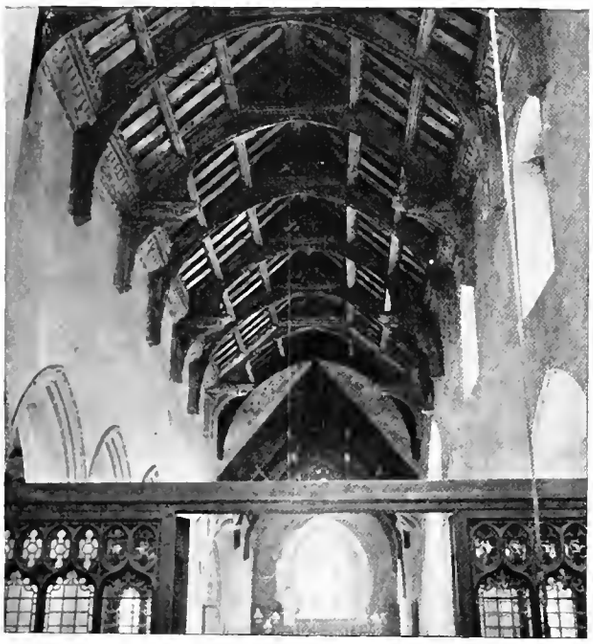


Fig. 76.
KERSEY, SUFFOLK.
Roof of Nave. Alternate arch-braced hammer-beams. Late fifteenth century.

we have the true double hammer-beam to each intermediate principal, alternating with arch-braced collars to single hammer-beams, each fixed to the principal at the level of the upper tier only, and bracketed, rather than braced, back to the principal itself; a most unusual detail. Each collar with its bracing is centred with a heavy carved pendant. The base of each wall-post is carved, with an effigy of a Saint, in a manner similar to the preceding example.

In Fig. 79 is illustrated the fine nave roof of Earl Stonham Church, Suffolk, of single hammer-beam form, with richly moulded, crenellated and cambered collar-beams, arch-braced to the hammers

Fig. 77.
WETHERDEN, SUFFOLK, ROOF OF NAVE.
Roof of Nave. False double hammer-beam, pendentive type.
Span 21 ft. 11 ins. Length 59 ft. 0 ins.
Middle fifteenth century.

and centred with king-posts above and carved pendants below. The spandrels in the triangle formed by the principal, the hammer-post and the hammer-beam are filled with tracery in masonic devices. True hammer-beams alternate with those of pendentive type, and the base of each wall-post is carved with figures and corbels. The rich cornice, which cannot be clearly seen in the illustration, has a carved and pierced band with winged angels above and below, and is connected to the hammer-post by carved spandrels. This example may be classed as one of the richest in the East Anglian churches, and Norfolk and Suffolk easily transcend any other counties in the beauty and elaboration of their ecclesiastical woodwork, Devon, perhaps, alone excepted.

The roof of Eltham Palace Hall, Figs. 80 and 81, is of this pendentive hammer-beam type, and although beautiful from the decorative point of view, it has the inherent defects of this method of construction. This roof had decayed badly and the work

of restoring it was commenced, about 1913, under the superintendence of Sir Frank Baines of H.M. Office of Works. The chief source of trouble, however, was not so much the decay in the timbers as the inherent faultiness in its construction. To quote from Sir Frank Baines' report (" Report to the First Commissioner of H.M. Works, etc., on the Condition of the Roof Timbers of Westminster Hall, C.D. 7436," p. 27), " . . . the principal rafters are not in two members but run in one length from the wall-plates to the ridge. The collar-beams intersect these principals about half-way, and are jointed to it (them) by means of mortices and double tenons. Immediately under this joint is the hammer-post, which is also double-tenoned into the principal rafters, thus acting as a further source of weakness at a point in the principal rafter where the greatest strength is required. To make this weakness worse, the hammer-post is not supported upon the hammer-beam, but continues down past it, terminating in a heavy pendant, while the beam is secured to it by a tenon joint " (see Fig. 44, No. 21).

" The roof is, in reality, an elaborate collar-beam type of roof with the arched ribs, etc., superimposed as ornaments. The result of my examination of this roof last year has shown me that it has failed exactly as a collar-beam type of roof would be expected to fail, namely, by thrusting out the walls and by the fracturing of the principal rafters at the junction of the collar-beam. Thus, in the Eltham Palace roof, many of the principals have sprung outward at their feet a distance of eight inches in the short length of the timber between the collar-beam and the wall-head."

Fig. 78.

HITCHAM, ROOF OF NAVE.

True double hammer-beam type. Late 16th century. Length 48 ft. Span 24 ft. 6 ins.

" . . . Throughout the whole roof . . . the dropping of the hammer-beams, the distortion of the hammer-posts, and the springing of the principal rafters, are considerable."

Sir Frank Baines has kindly furnished two photographs of the Eltham Palace roof, taken while the work of restoration was in progress. In the latter, the steel reinforcements to each truss may be noticed, and some idea formed of the defective state of the roof. This photograph is unique, being taken while the tiles were temporarily removed, thereby allowing of the entry of light from above.

Fig. 82 shows the fine roof of the Middle Temple Hall, of the double pendentive

Fig. 79.
EARL STONHAM, SUFFOLK, ROOF OF NAVE.

Single hammer-beam, alternate pendentive type (*c.* 1460).
Span 17 ft. 6 ins. Length 68 ft. 3 ins.

hammer-post type. This is a late example of a timber roof of this kind, dating, as it does, from the years between 1562 and 1570. It is a Renaissance, rather than a Gothic, roof. It measures 100 ft. in length, 42 ft. in width, and with a height of 47 ft. Although the Hall building has the usual high pitch of roof, full advantage has not been taken of this fact, as in the earlier fifteenth-century manner. A central purlin has been fixed under the collars and boarded in above, giving the effect of a flat ceiling below the collar-level. This collar-purlin is reinforced by arch-braces to the lateral tie-beams, and the collars are stiffened by four turned queen-posts, two on each side of the archbracing.

The lesson of Eltham Palace has, evidently, been learned in the case of this roof of the Middle Temple Hall. It is pendentive only in effect. The hammer-posts, with their arch-braces, rest full on the hammer-beams, with separate pendentives below. The wall-posts are unusually long, thereby distributing the thrust well down on to the wall faces. Some restoration and renovation to the Hall has been necessary, at various dates, in 1697, 1755, 1791 and 1808, but much of the work at the earlier dates was in the nature of additions and alterations. The roof has survived with very few structural defects. It is not only rich in detail, but also sound in design.

In Figs. 83, 84, 85 and 86 we have, perhaps, the most remarkable church roof in England, in the otherwise insignificant church of Needham Market, not far from Ipswich. This is a true double-aisled roof, and a comparison of this with that of Harmondsworth Barn, Fig. 45, will show the same constructive principal. In Needham Market Church, however, the hammer-posts only reach to the beams, whereas at Harmondsworth they continue to the floor. This remarkable roof is built with a lantern, or clerestory, shown more clearly in Fig. 85. The crown of the roof is really low-pitched, with a sharp slope below the clerestory windows to the wall-plate. Below the lantern or clerestory level, large cambered collar-beams are fixed, not from wall to wall in the form of true tie-beams, but between the vertical hammer-posts, a tenon three inches in thickness being taken through the hammer-post, with the principal rafter as an additional tie. The hammer-posts, which are of unusual height, are stiffened with longitudinal braced ties, and at the wall, above the large cornice, a principal ashlar-post corresponds with the hammer-post itself. Although, apparently, a pendentive hammer-beam, the pendants below are suspended, the hammer-posts bearing upon their beams instead of on tenons at their ends. Winged angels mask the junction of post and beam, but in Fig. 86 the projection of the hammer-beam beyond its post can be clearly seen, and also the distinct character of the pendant below.

As an example of intricate construction, the roof of Needham Market Church will repay close study. The sectional diagram, illustrated in Fig. 84, will assist the comprehension of the principles on which this roof has been constructed. The low-pitched roof-crown has a certain nominal outward thrust in the direction A, but this can be ignored, as it is so small in amount. The direction of the downward pressure on the tall hammer-post, which is transmitted, via the hammer-beam to the wall-post, is indicated by the arrows at B B B. The tendency is for the hammer-beam to be depressed at its projecting end, the direction of which is shown by the arrows C C. Such depression would cause the hammer-beam to pivot on the wall-post at D, thus exercising an upward pressure on its outer end, which would be transmitted to the principal rafter on the line E E, thereby effectively counteracting the downward pressure of the clerestory, via the hammer-post to the hammer-beam. The junction of the principal with the

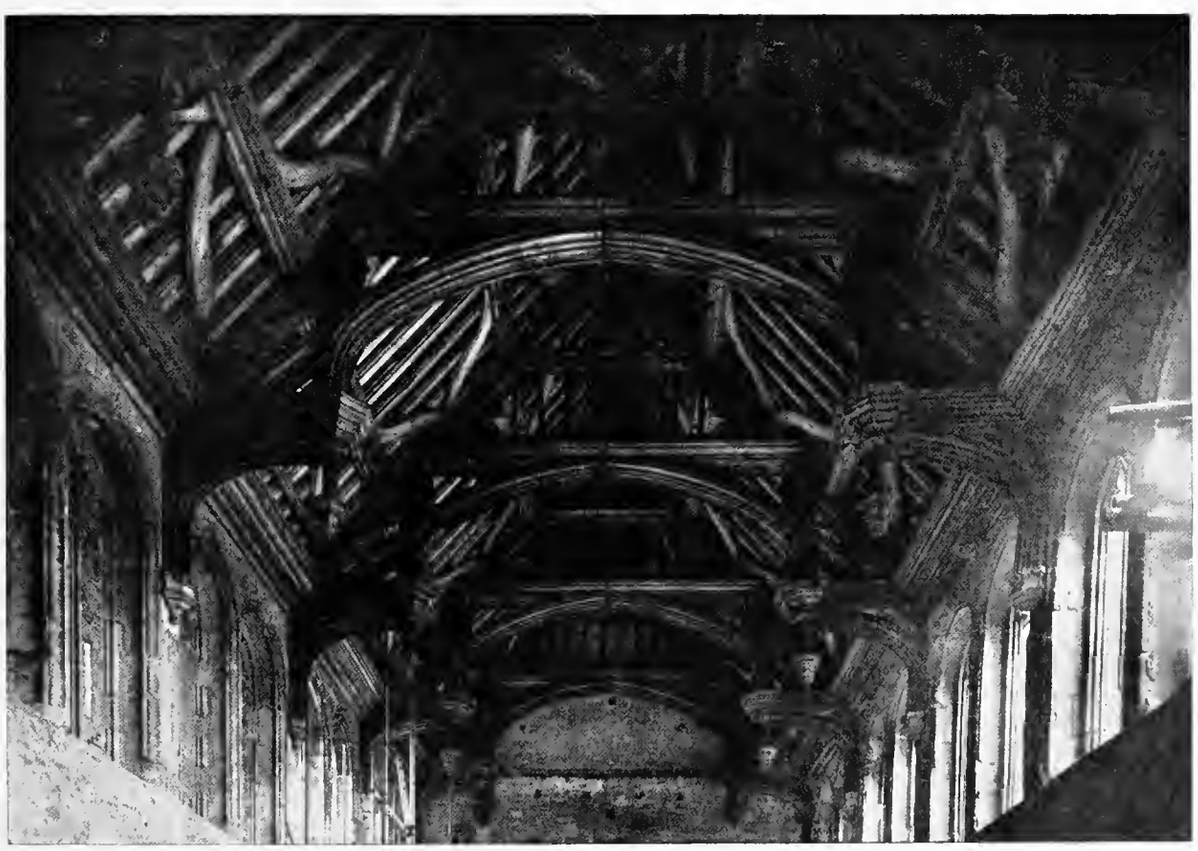


Fig. 80.
THE ROOF AT ELTHAM PALACE.
Pendentive type of hammer-beam.
Early sixteenth century.

Photo by H.M. Office of Works.

hammer-post is, really, the weak part of the whole construction, the strength of the latter being invalidated by the insertion of three tenons from the principal, the purlin, and the main tie-beam, the three-inch tenon of the beam being taken through the hammer-post to the principal at F. The small tie-beams, G, inadequate as they appear, are strong enough to correct any tendency in the hammer-post to bend in the lengthwise direction of the roof, which might occur owing to the enormous downward strain upon it, even when partially relieved by the upward pressure of the principal, carrying, as it does, nearly the whole of the superimposed weight of the roof.

Actually, in spite of the rake of the principal and the common rafters from below the clerestory down to the wall-head, there is little, or no outward thrust from this roof.

Fig. 81.
THE ROOF AT ELTHAM PALACE.
Photo by H.M. Office of Works, taken when tiles were removed during the recent work of restoration to the roof.

Fig. 82.

THE HALL OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

1562–70.

Its stability depends solely on the permanence of its joints, and the safeguarding against decay, especially in the hammer-beams and the wall-posts. The huge cornice and the hammer-beams are, in reality, the only tensional members; the others are in compression. As an example of clever construction on the part of the fifteenth-century carpenters this roof of Needham Market Church is a truly astonishing achievement.

The great curved rib, as in Fig. 44, No. 24, when used in conjunction with the hammer-beam, marks the zenith of timber-roof construction in England. The view of Gainsburgh Great Hall, illustrated in Chapter VII of this volume, shows the rib as a great moulded arch-brace, springing from the wall-corbels to the collar. This Hall is in a timber building, and the stress of the entire roof is carried on great posts from the ground, tenoned into the ends of the principal rafters. These posts appear, on the outside of the Hall, as great timber buttresses; on their inside faces is a solid abutment, —probably a branch growth on the original tree itself, which was especially selected for the purpose,—on which the continuation of the arch-rib to the corbel is moulded. Above this springing, the arch-rib rises, in two sections, to its apex, where it is tenoned

Fig. 83.
NEEDHAM MARKET, SUFFOLK, ROOF OF NAVE.

Double-aisled hammer-beam type, with clerestory.
29 ft. 0 ins. span 17 ft. between hammer-posts. 50 ft. long over all.
Built about 1400.

into the collar. At the point of junction of the two sections of the rib with the principal rafter, they are housed into it with long slotted tenons, secured by wooden pegs. With the solid abutments to this arch-rib, it will be seen that the corbels have no function other than an ornamental one, and even this latter is questionable when it is remembered that the original carved corbels have disappeared and have been replaced by others of cast iron in the ornamental style of a modern girder railway bridge. Surely even cast iron was never put to more ignoble use.

It has been pointed out, at the outset of this chapter, that the chronological arrangement of timber roofs does not show their progressive development. Of the three remaining examples of the English timber roof still to be considered, Westminster Hall (1395) is the earliest. The roof of the Exeter Law Library (the date of which is obscure, but which is certainly later) and Gainsburgh Hall, completed in 1484, would follow in order, but to adopt this method would involve taking the most complicated and the largest timber roof in existence and to descend from this to the comparatively simple type of Gainsburgh Hall. The latter, also, is a timber-framed building, and problems of roof construction can be solved by means not possible in the case of walls of stone or brick.

The roof of the Exeter Law Library, Figs. 87, 88 and 89, has every appearance of being copied from Hugh Herland's great roof in Westminster Hall. Similar winged

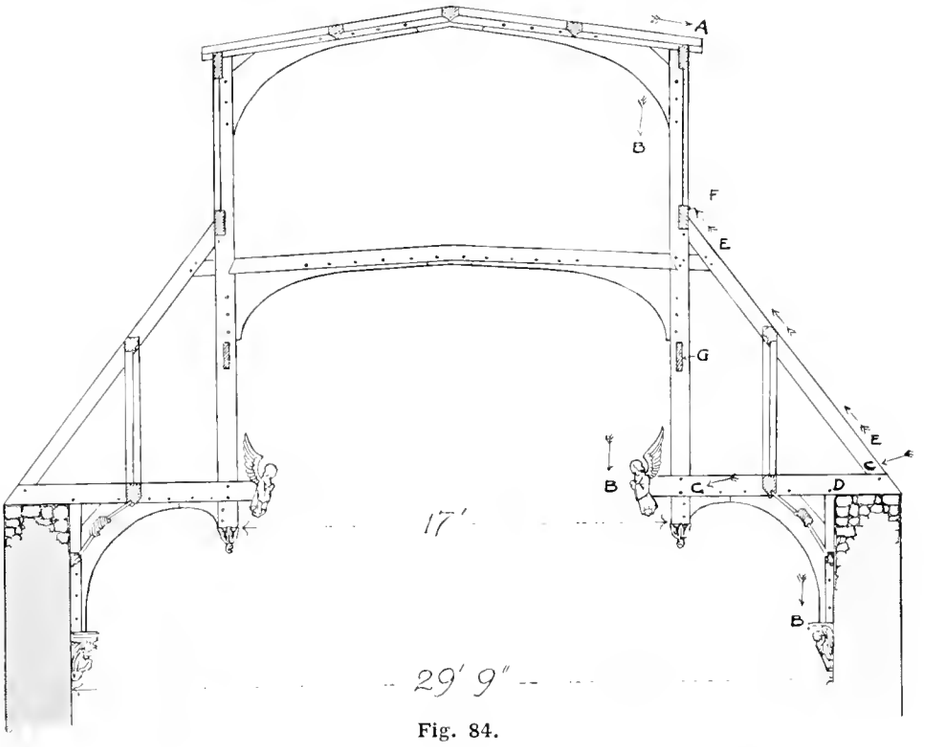


Fig. 84.
SECTIONAL DIAGRAM OF NEEDHAM MARKET ROOF WITH STRESSES INDICATED.
Ernest R. Gribble, *Delt.*

angels are carved on the ends of the hammer-beams, the same form of great arch-rib commences from the collar, intersects with the hammer-post and continues to the wall corbel, where it joins with the arch-brace from the hammer-post. In Westminster Hall, however, the arch-rib intersects with the hammer-post at about half its height and with the hammer-beam well away from its wall-end, thus bracing the upper and lower portions of the compound roof together. In the Exeter roof the rib is kept further back, and instead of intersecting with the hammer-beam, the latter is actually tenoned into the rib itself, in the same manner as one of an upper tier in a double hammer-beam roof is tenoned into the principal. It is here where the first important difference between the Exeter and the Westminster Hall examples occurs. There is no large raking traceried spandrel behind the rib above the hammer-beam as in Westminster Hall. In the Exeter Roof this is quite small, with a simple pierced panel, and below the hammer-beam it is solid.

Fig. 85.
NEEDHAM MARKET.
View showing windows of clerestory.

Above the cambered collar is a waggon ceiling, formed under the collar-purlin, which is arch-braced to the great purlin, thereby forming the ribs to this barrel ceiling. In Westminster Hall, with its enormous height and pitch of roof, there is an upper and a lower collar, braced together with collar-posts and completely traceried up to the ridge.

Between each of the four main trusses of the Exeter roof is a sub-principal which finishes with a forked brace, cut from the solid, on a small carved hammer-beam, projecting at an upward angle from the wall-plate, this tilt dispensing with any braces below. Across this sub-principal, at its centre, is a small moulded purlin, and from the intersection two raking struts are taken to the junction of the arch-ribs with the wall-plate. The central meeting-point of the principal purlin and raking

Fig. 86.

NEEDHAM MARKET, SUFFOLK.

View showing details of hammer-beams, hammer-posts, tie-beams and ashlaring, and carved cornice.

struts is covered by a boss carved with the representation of a human head. From behind this sub-principal, which is in the form of a large flattened arch-brace (see Fig. 89), two other braces, with traceried spandrels, carry down from the great purlin to the hammer-posts, at some distance from the hammer-beam, joining others which rise to the apex of the great arch-rib (see Fig. 87).

Although obviously designed in imitation of Westminster Hall, this Exeter roof differs largely in its construction from its model. It is framed in a very solid and rather clumsy manner, with heavy baulks of timber, and lacks the grace and scientific devising of the Westminster original.

The roof is carried, mainly, on the huge piece of timber, which contains, in the one piece, the wall-post and the lower section of the inner or large arch-rib. This is tenoned into the principal, and has a solid abutment from which the upper sections of the rib continue. The principal rafter is tenoned into the hammer-post at its upper extremity and at the other end into an extension of the hammer-beam on the wall side of the arch-rib. The hammer-beam proper, being tenoned into the arch-rib on its inner face, has no definite connection with this extension piece, which is fixed by being mortised on to the upper end of the wall-post, held firmly to its tenon by pegs. This false hammer-beam extension piece takes the thrust from the principal rafter. The real hammer-beam is tenoned into the lower section of the arch-rib or the wall-post,—which are here the same, as both are contained in the one solid timber,—and is supported by the lower internal rib-brace, which is tenoned into the hammer-beam at its one end, and into the wall-post at the other.

The main collar-beam—which bridges the hammer-posts at their upper extremities—the upper section of the arch-rib, and the upper rib-braces with their solid abutments are all framed together with tenon-and-mortise joints. The main arch-rib is further reinforced by moulded laminations, with butt joints arranged so as to overlap well those of the rib itself. These laminations are secured to the rib by wooden pegs. Both the common rafters and the ashlaring are concealed behind the plastering between the bays. Above the collar is the typical Western form of waggon ceiling which has already been described.

This Exeter roof is remarkable, as much for its details of similarity to that of Westminster Hall, as for its many points of variation. The latter has now to be considered to bring this chapter to its conclusion.

The roof of Westminster Hall, drawings of which are given in Figs. 90 and 91, among other claims to distinction, is easily the largest and the most elaborate example

Fig. 87.
THE LAW LIBRARY, EXETER, N.E. END.

of its kind existing. The Hall itself was built for William Rufus, and at Whitsuntide, in the year 1099, he held Court in the Palace of Westminster, as it was then styled.

We have no exact knowledge of the original roof of the Hall, but it is conjectured that it was in double-aisled form, with wooden posts to the floor, in the manner of York Guild Hall. Considering the standard of roofing science at the date when the Hall was built, this form of construction is the only one which can be imagined for a vast hall, 238 feet in length by 68 feet in span.

It was in 1394, in the reign of Richard II, that it was decided to renew the roof, and in that year, John Godmeston, Clerk, is appointed "to cause the Great Hall in the Palace of Westminster to be repaired." Hugh Herland, the King's Master Carpenter,

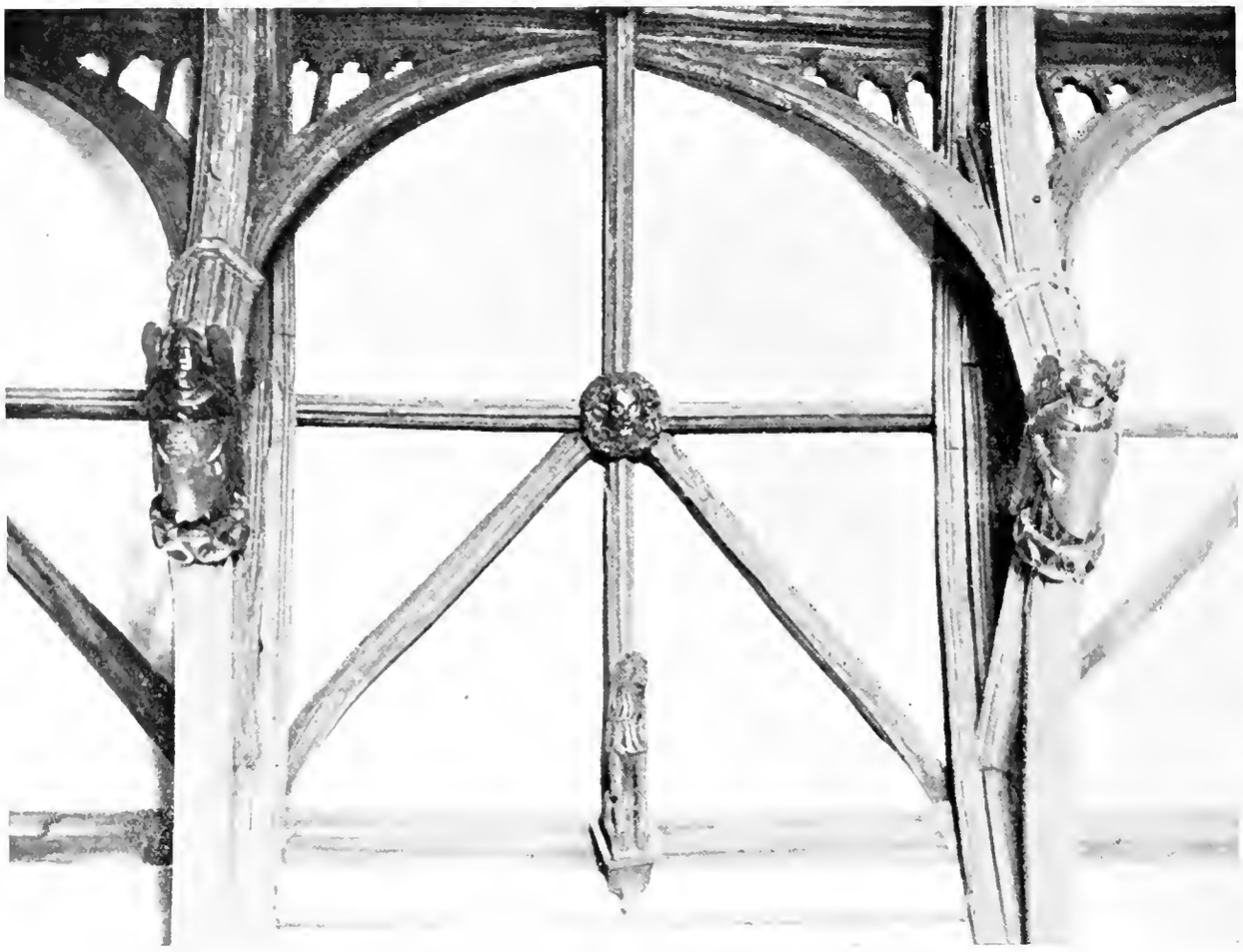


Fig. 88.

THE ROOF OF THE EXETER LAW LIBRARY.

View looking up at a Bay.

Fig. 89.

THE ROOF OF THE EXETER LAW LIBRARY.

Detail of a Truss.

was entrusted with the control of the work, to enroll men of the various trades from all parts of England, excepting in the fee of the Church, and to "arrest and imprison any contrariants."[1]

The timbers of the Hall roof are of Sussex oak, *Quercus pedunculata*, chiefly from the King's forest or wood of Pettelwode. The assertion that chestnut was used for the timbering could only have been made by those who had either not inspected the roof at close quarters, or had been deceived by the surface colour or bloom which the timbers now exhibit, the result of a superficial surface rot.

Elevations of a principal truss, and a bay are illustrated in Figs. 90 and 91, together with a plan of the Hall. A general view is also given in the illustration facing this page. It is impossible, here, to give more than a brief description of this wonderful roof. To begin with, it was obviously impossible to obtain timbers of sufficient length to act as main tie-beams or principal rafters. The roof, therefore, begins with an upper triangulated framed structure, formed by the main and upper collar beams, the ridge with its bracing, the collar-post and the compound main and upper purlins, and the crown-post supporting the heavy ridge, together with the principal and common rafters down to main purlin level. This upper structure is carried on triangulated cantilevers, formed by the hammer-posts, the hammer-beams, the wall-posts with their arch-braces, the lower principal rafters and the compound wall-plate. To tie the whole roof together, the great curved rib or arch-brace is introduced, springing from the stone corbels at the feet of the wall-posts and rising to its apex at the centre of the main collar, intersecting both the hammer-beam and the hammer-post on its way.

Those who have read and understood the construction principles of the various roofs which have already been described, will see that in Westminster Hall several types have been compounded into the one. Sections of the various roof members are given here, necessarily to a minute scale. The following list of sizes and scantlings

[1] EXTRACT.

1394 Jan. 21. Patent Rolls.
17 Rich. II. M. 3.

WESTMINSTER HALL.

Appointment of John Godmeston clerk to cause the great Hall to be repaired, taking the necessary masons, carpenters and labourers wherefor whenever found except in the fee of the church, with power to arrest and imprison contrariants, until further order and also to take stone, timber, tiles and other materials for the same at the King's charges and to sell branches, bark and other remnants of trees provided for the said hall, as well as the old timber from it and from an old bridge near the palace by view and testimony of the King's controller of the said works for the time being accounting for the moneys so received and receiving in that office wages and fees at the discretion of the Treasurer of England.

By Bill of Treasurer.

WESTMINSTER HALL.

An eleventh-century Hall with a late fourteenth-century Roof.

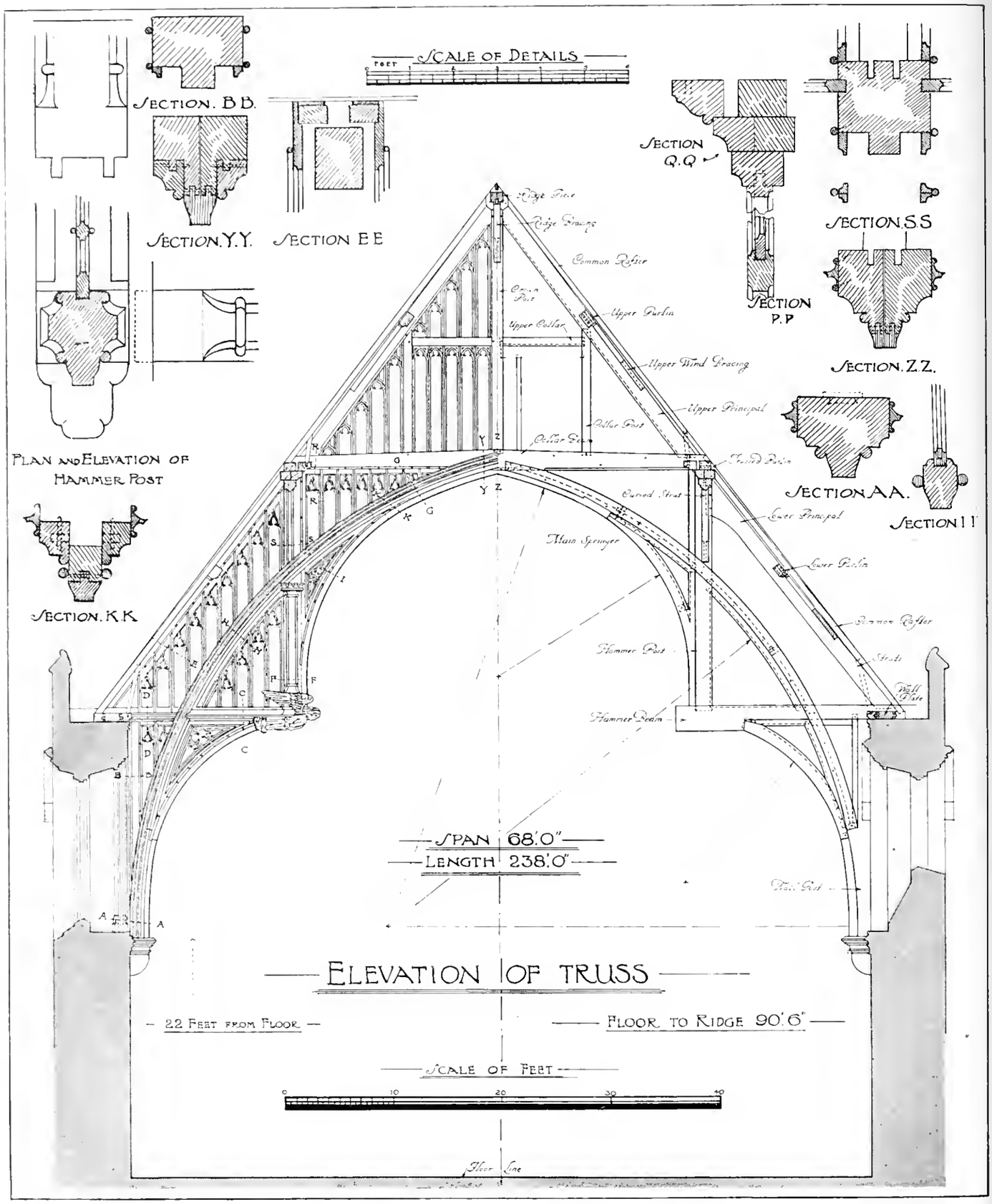


Fig. 90.

WESTMINSTER HALL ROOF.

SECTIONAL VIEW OF A PRINCIPAL SHOWING THE GREAT ARCH-RIB.

The view of the Principal, Bay and Details from a drawing by H.M. Office of Works, prepared

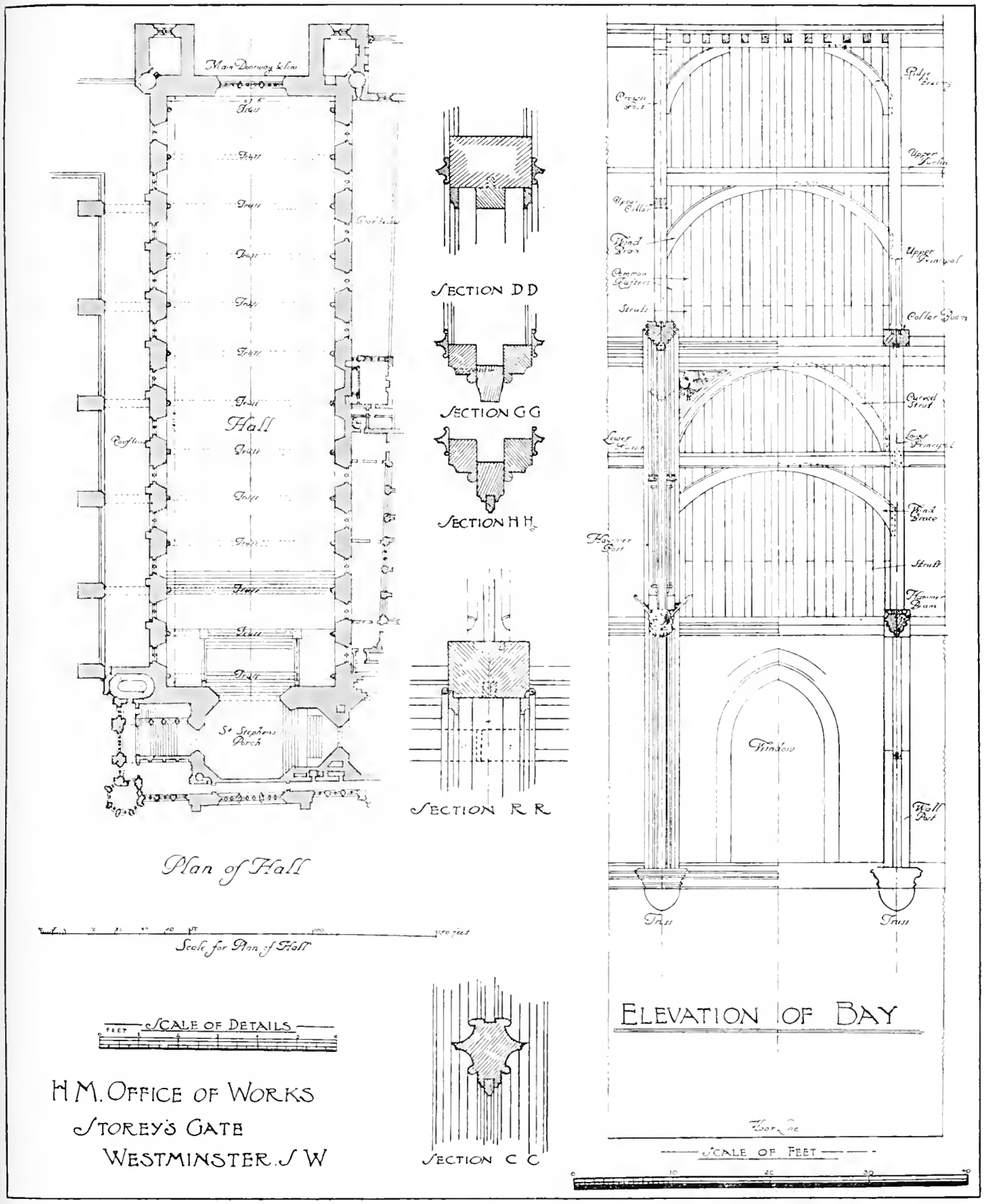


Fig. 91.

WESTMINSTER HALL.

VIEW OF A BAY AND PLAN OF HALL.

from an original measured and detailed drawing by Ernest R. Gribble and W. Rennie, 1910.

may be of service in giving some idea of the gigantic dimensions of the timbers in this wonderful roof: —

	Cross Section.	Length.
Hammer-beams	$21'' \times 24\frac{1}{2}''$	21′ 0″
Hammer-post	$25'' \times 24\frac{1}{2}''$ (at abutment $38\frac{1}{2}''$)	21′ 6″
Collar-beam (of two members)	$22'' \times 12''$	40′ 0″
Lower principal rafter	$16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 13''$	26′ 4″
Upper principal rafter	$16'' \times 12''$	28′ 6″
Arch-rib	$9'' \times 12''$	15′ 0″ to 20′ 0″
Lamination of rib	$8'' \times 12''$	—
Inner bracing-rib	$9'' \times 13''$	14′ 3″ maximum.
Wall-plate (compound)	$15'' \times 8''$	15′ 0″ to 18′ 0″
Upper and lower purlins	$9'' \times 16\frac{1}{2}''$	17′ 6″
Main purlins (consisting of 4 members) :—		
Top inner	$14'' \times 12''$	18′ 10″
Top outer	$13'' \times 10''$	
Laminating purlin	$22'' \times 9''$	
Lower	$14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9''$	
Common rafters (laid flat)	$8'' \times 6''$	26′ 0″ to 32′ 0″
Wall-posts	$24\frac{1}{2}'' \times 16''$	20′ 0″
Wind-braces	5″ thick	10′ 6″
Ridge	$14'' \times 11''$	17′ 9″
Crown-post	$13'' \times 12''$	23′ 9″
Queen-posts	—	11′ 3″

Some idea of the enormous weight of the timber in this roof, which is supported almost entirely from the wall-heads, may be gathered from the fact that a single hammer-post measuring $38\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 25 ins. in section at abutment, with a length of 21 ft. 6 ins., weighs three and a half tons. This sectional measurement is also not the maximum one. Actually the hammer-post must have been fashioned from a trunk nearly 4 ft. in diameter.

With Westminster Hall, this review of the English timber roof can be fittingly concluded. Here, almost in the heart of London, we have the greatest triumph of mediæval carpentry which England has ever possessed, a testimony alike to the fourteenth-century woodworker and to the qualities of English oak.

Chapter VI.

Gothic Woodwork and Colour Decoration.

IT is only during recent years that some degree of accurate knowledge has been acquired, regarding the original states of much of the furniture and woodwork which has persisted to the present day, as artistic legacies from centuries gone by. During the nineteenth century, especially, much irreparable harm was done under the guise of restoration. We know now, for example, that nearly all the early silver, of the decorative kind, was gilded, and yet, under the mistaken impression that it was a late addition, this fine water-gilding was often ruthlessly stripped. No one, of any taste, who has seen this original gilt silver and compared it with the cold uninteresting tone of the raw metal, can fail to appreciate the superior decorative qualities of the former. There is also a real purpose served by this gilding; it obviates the necessity of frequent cleaning to remove the inevitable tarnishing to which silver is condemned, and, apart from the saving of labour, frequent cleaning with powder, however refined, must ultimately ruin fine chasing or delicate ornament. In any case, this gilding was the original finish intended by the silversmith, and its integrity should have been respected. To strip the gold from the fine early silver is about as just to the craftsman as it would be to remove the over-glazings from a Reynolds or Gainsborough portrait.

There is little doubt that much of the Gothic, and even the later oak woodwork, was decorated in polychrome. In the case of the former, there are examples remaining, such as will be illustrated, in only a small degree, in this chapter, which show that this must have been the usual finish, in nearly every case. We have no right to assume that chancel screens, pulpits, and even roofs, of the fifteenth century, decorated in polychrome, were the exception. There is hardly a Gothic screen to be found, in churches of this period, without traces of colour being visible in the quirks and interstices. To say that this is later daubing which has been removed, is absurd, although, in the case of secular panellings, such over-painting, in the desire to relieve the sombre character of the oak, may have been of frequent occurrence. Yet even here there are examples of stencilled and other ornamentations on panellings still existing which show that there was an original desire for colour decoration. The attempt was often made in another way,—by inlay,—to achieve a relief; why should decorative painting

have been ignored? That nearly all oak work, especially panellings, has been painted, either originally or at a later date, we know from the evidence of the wood itself. The figure, or medullary ray of quartered oak, is lighter than the surrounding wood when it is cut, and this ray does not darken appreciably with exposure to the air. When a lead paint is applied, however, and allowed to remain for some years, it will be found, on removal, to have darkened the ray, and in some cases, especially after the paint has been allowed to remain for a very long time, to have turned it quite black. We hardly ever find figured oak, even of the seventeenth century, without this darkened ray. This will be found to be present in every one of the oak rooms in the Victoria and Albert Museum, thereby proving that they must have been painted over, either originally, or at some later period.

The crudest daubing will achieve the same result as the most artistic decorative painting, and it is difficult to say when this painting was original and where of subsequent date. In a later chapter, dealing with secular panellings, will be found two mantels from the Herefordshire mansion of Rotherwas, where the panels are emblazoned in colours. They were made in an age which delighted in bright hues in fabrics and in costumes. Why should certain panels have been relieved by bright colours, and the remainder of the woodwork left in sombre oak?

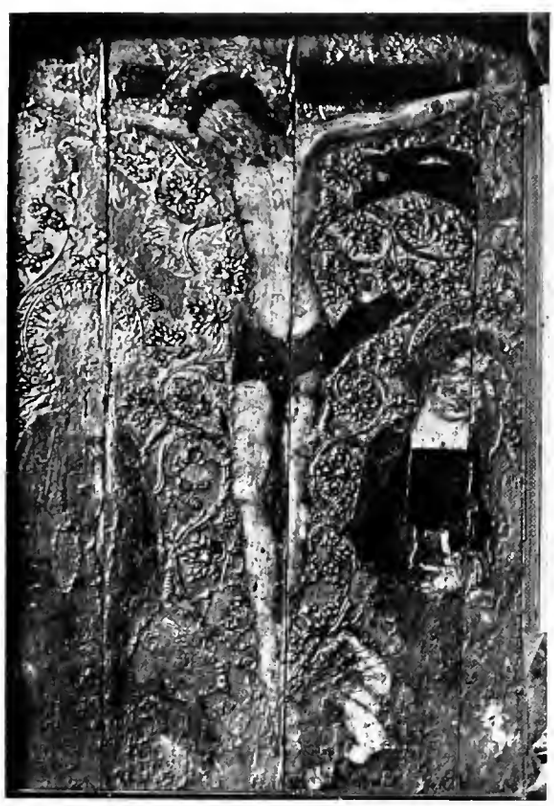


Fig. 92.

ST. MICHAEL-AT-PLEA, NORWICH, PANEL OF PAINTED REREDOS.

Late fifteenth century.

Whether painted decoration on secular panellings was the rule or the exception, can only be surmised. A century or two of conscientious stripping and scouring has removed too much to allow of a comprehensive statement. The frieze of the Abbot's Parlour at Thame is decorated in colours over carved woodwork, and Cardinal Wolsey's Closet at Hampton Court is bright enough in polychrome. Stone, plaster and wood can be found, painted over in pictorial patterns or repeating designs, in many houses in England, and it can be said that such polychrome decoration was not unusual, even if it were not general.

Gothic Woodwork and Colour Decoration

With church woodwork, especially that prior to the dawn of the sixteenth century, there exists a wealth of evidence to show that this was not only originally decorated with colours and gilding, and even ornamented with raised gesso in many instances, but also that the carving was finished (or rather left unfinished) with the intention of such decoration being applied. The late seventeenth-century carved and gilded furniture is, in nearly all examples, completed by the carver, with no attempt at finish beyond the clean cutting of his gouge. It is the gilder who, with his heavy preparation of whiting or lead, puts in the finer details of veining and the like with his pointed sticks, used with water while the preparation is still moist. To strip the gold and preparation from this work is to destroy all its finish. In the same way some of the earlier Gothic woodwork demands the gesso-worker and the luminer. Fillets and surfaces are left flat, specifically for decoration, and without it, the design is not complete.

To examine and to appreciate the finer woodwork of the fifteenth century, if originally decorated, it is necessary to view it as if the original gold, colours and gesso remained. Much has perished either with time, neglect or through wilful damage and deplorable ignorance, but examples still exist, which, with due allowance for the mellowing influence of four centuries, will serve to show that the fifteenth-century church must have been rich in decoration, if not positively rioting with colour.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to visualise the church of the fifteenth century, as it was at that period, without an accurate knowledge of the social life of the English people before the accession of the Tudors. The church was not only the place of worship; the nave was also the hall or meeting-place of the village or parish. The earliest churches must have been mere shrines or sanctuaries which evolved into the chancel with or without chapels. This was the church proper, and even at the present day, in many villages, if not in all, the chancel is church property, maintained and upheld from its funds, whereas the nave belongs to the parish, and any expense of additions or renovations are paid for with parish money. This is one of the reasons why the chancel is nearly always richer in decoration than the nave.

It is when this dual ownership of the village church evolves, that the chancel opening is screened off from the nave, and although an opening (rarely a door) is provided in the chancel screen, a massive cill is placed across to remind the undevout that the sanctuary beyond is not to be invaded, but approached with reverence.

The life of the fifteenth century, whether of craftsman or hind, franklin, freeman or serf, was rude, but not as hard as it became under the Tudors. Desires were few and diet was limited in variety. As a compensation, food was plentiful and cheap.

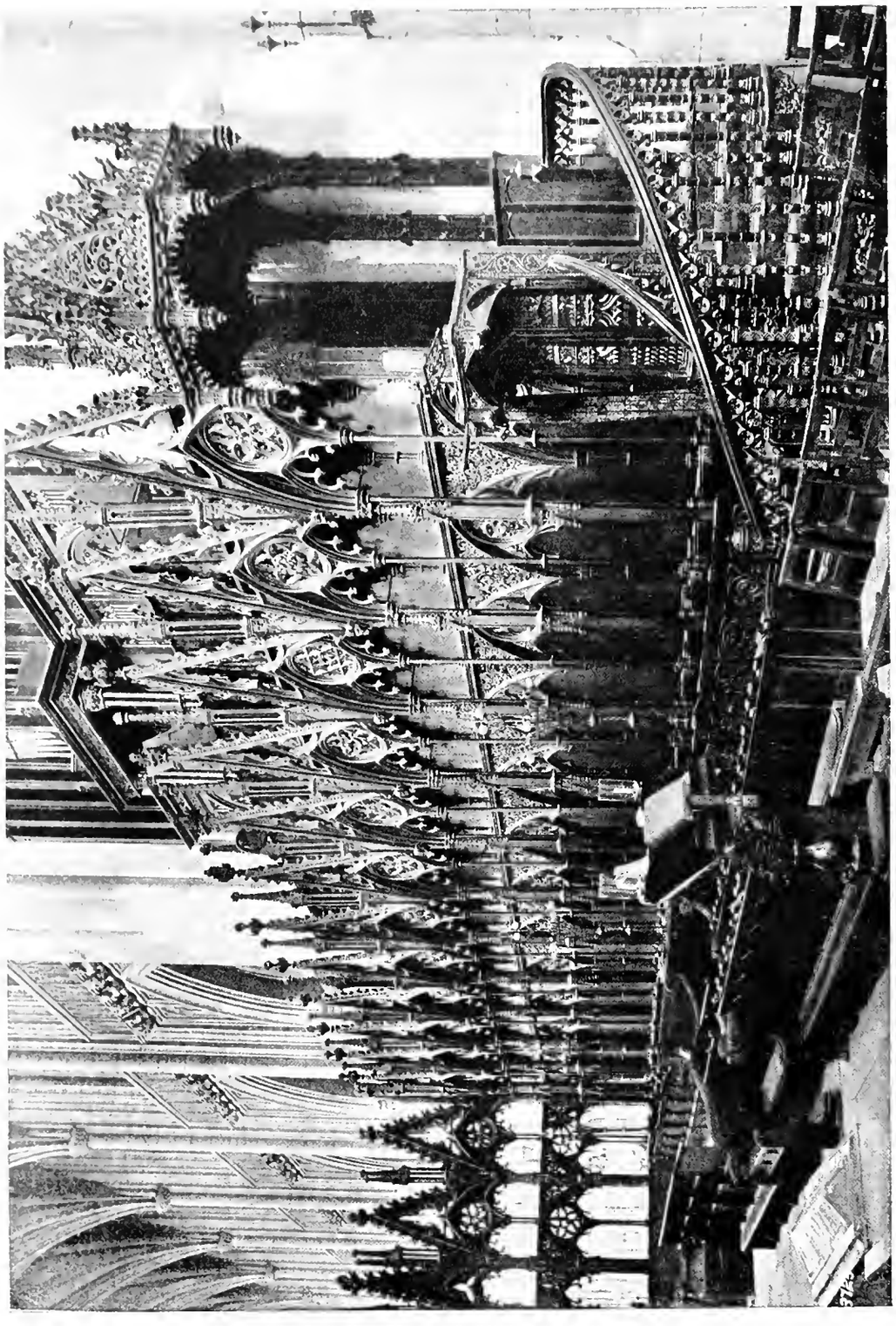


Fig. 93.
WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL CHOIR STALLS AND CANOPIES.
Late thirteenth century.

Fig. 94.
CHESTER CATHEDRAL, THE CHOIR, WEST.

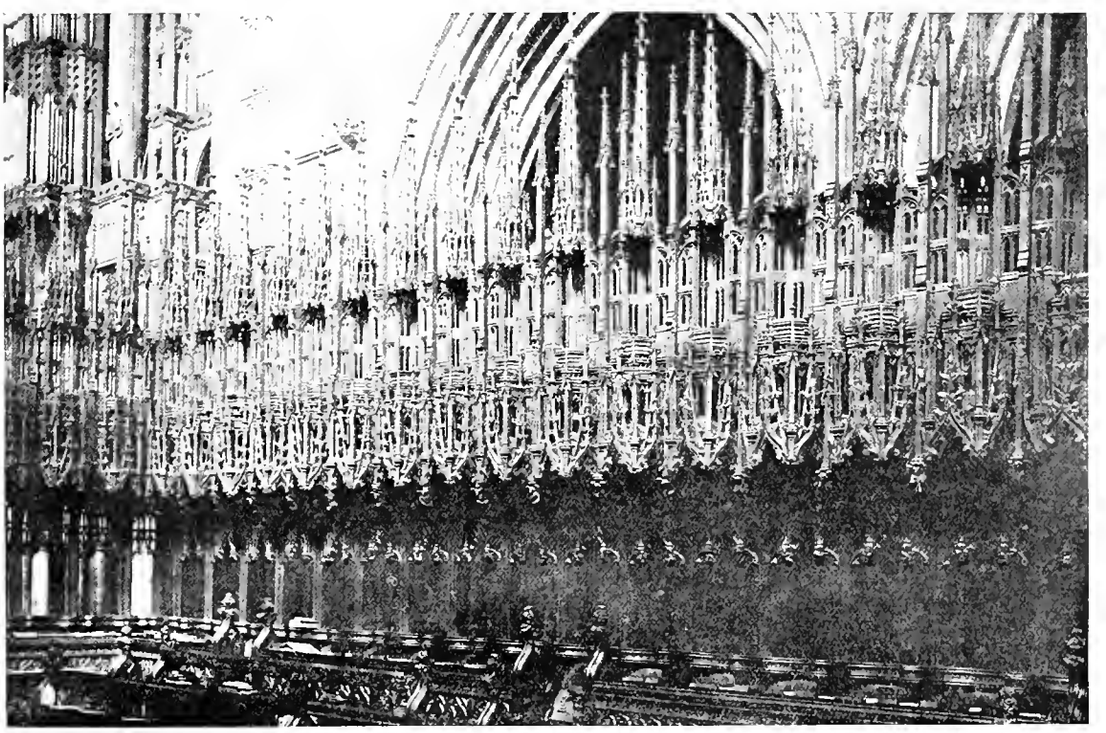


Fig. 95.
CHESTER CATHEDRAL, THE CHOIR STALLS, DETAIL
Late fourteenth century.

There was little, if any want, even among the vagrant class, at this date. It remained for Henry VIII to set the spectre of famine stalking through the length and breadth of broad England. The population suffered from plagues, due, in all probability, to an incredible lack of cleanliness of person and certainly contributed to by a total lack of sanitation. Yet the age must have been a happy one, at least, for the craftsman, however humble. The Golden Age of English woodwork could not have existed side by side with want or serious oppression. Laws were harsh and strict, but not savagely brutal as they afterwards became. Over all handicrafts was the guiding and gentle influence of the Church, and the lot of the craftsman who lived in the shadow of a mighty abbey,—and priories and abbeys were numerous enough to cast many such shadows,—must have been a happy if uneventful one. If the warlike expeditions of his lord, either in England, or in the English provinces across the Channel, called him to arms, and caused him to exchange tool and apron for long-bow and leather jerkin, this was but a diversion in a somewhat stagnated existence. In times of peace he had his guild, or met his fellows in the village church at close of day, when strong ale or other liquor was by no means unknown. This was his leisure life, enlivened with occasional feast or saints' days, when carousing was still more deeply indulged in. All legends agree that the Churchman of this day was a good liver, and his flock,—as a good flock should,—dutifully followed his example.

Fig. 96.
CULBONE, SOMERSET, CHANCEL SCREEN.
Fourteenth century.

The reaction of this life is seen in the craftsman's work, especially in that of the woodworker. There is more than skill evidenced in chancel screens, pulpits, timber

roofs and all the embellishments of the village church. There is the earnest desire to produce something fine, which should defy the centuries, and the spirit of emulation and rivalry which prompted the craftsmen of one village to vie with, or to out-do the inhabitants of a neighbouring hamlet in the enrichment and the beautifying of their church.[1]

In no instance is this thoroughness of workmanship, as distinguished from either inspiration or skill, more evident than in the colour decoration as applied to Gothic ecclesiastical woodwork of the fifteenth century. It is not that it is fine in execution or in conception (although in both qualities it is unrivalled) so much as in the fact that

[1] The Church, which was, of course, Catholic at this date, was torn by violent schisms in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. In 1377 there were two Popes, Urban VI at Rome, and Clement VII at Avignon. England adhered to the former, Scotland to the latter. The Council at Pisa, in 1409, elected Alexander V, and at this date there were actually three titular heads of the Church.

Fig. 97.
LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK, CHANCEL SCREEN.
Late fourteenth century.

Mr. C. J. Abbott, Photo.

Fig. 98.
DETAIL OF THE CHANCEL SCREEN, Fig. 97.

what has persisted—in spite of neglect and iconoclasm of the most brutal and ignorant kind, or purposed and law-sanctioned destruction, not on one, but on three noted occasions at least—has the colours and gilding mellowed by time, but as pure and transparent as the day they were applied. That the same may be said of the pictures of the Van Eycks we know, but we do not know the immense trouble which Jan Van Eyck took to make his colours and his vehicles pure and permanent.

With whiting prepared from finely powdered chalk and carefully freed from all impurities by elutriation, and with size made from parchment, the oak was prepared for its decoration.[1] Coats were applied in succession, each carefully rubbed down, when dry, until the grain was filled and the surface rendered level and smooth. The parts intended for gilding were then prepared with bole-armoniac (called bole armeny in documents of the time) a yellowish unctuous clay, which, curiously enough, was also employed at that time for the staunching of blood. It is this brownish or yellowish earth, impregnated, as it is, with oxide of iron, which gives this old gilding its warm lustre. The raised gesso was formed either by building up on its ground, or by cutting into it, according to whether the ornament was to be in relief or intaglio. The chancel

[1] Grounds prepared entirely in oil colours are also not uncommon.

screen of Bramfield, Fig. 126, will serve to show how delicate was nearly all of this original gesso.

Of pigment mediums, both oil and tempera,—yolk of egg or size,—appear to have been used indifferently, according to whether a luminous or a non-reflective finish was desired. Colours darken, after years, when used with oil mediums, but this is due to the oil not being sufficiently refined. Jan Van Eyck is usually credited with being the first to use oil colours for his pictures,[1] and Margaret Van Eyck's account of her brother's way of refining his oil may be quoted here from the "*Cloister and the Hearth*," as being illuminating, if not literally correct.

"'Note my brother Jan's pictures; time, which fades all other paintings, leaves his colours bright as the day they left the easel. The reason is, he did nothing blindly,

[1] Later research has established the fact that the use of oil with pigments is older than the Van Eycks, and it is by no means certain whether they used oil mediums for many of their pictures.

Fig. 99.

ATHERINGTON, DEVON, CHANCEL SCREEN.

Late fourteenth century.

Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

Fig. 100.

GRUNDISBURGH, SUFFOLK, CHANCEL SCREEN.

Late fourteenth century.

Fig. 101.

GRUNDISBURGH CHANCEL SCREEN, DETAIL.

Fig. 102.

BARKING, SUFFOLK, S. CHAPEL SCREEN.

Fifteenth century.

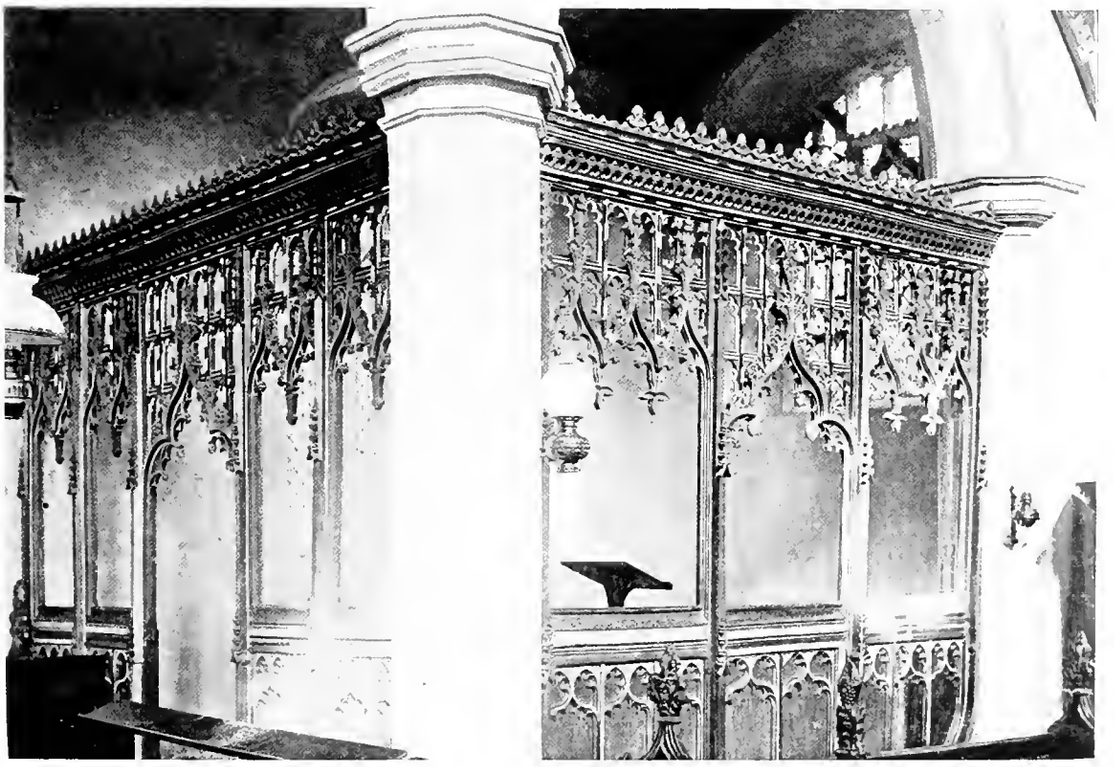


Fig. 103.

BARKING, SUFFOLK, N. CHAPEL SCREENS.

Fifteenth century.

Fig. 104.

LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK, N. CHAPEL SCREEN, DETAIL.

Late fifteenth century.

Mr. C. J. Abbott, Photo.

Fig. 105.

LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK, N. AISLE PARCLOSE SCREEN, DETAILS.

Mid-fifteenth century.

Mr. C. J. Abbott, Photo.

nothing in a hurry. He trusted to no hireling to grind his colours; he did it himself, or saw it done. His panel was prepared, and prepared again—I will show you how—a year before he laid his colour on. Most of them are quite content to have their work sucked up and lost, sooner than not be in a hurry. Bad painters are always in a hurry. Above all, Gerard, I warn you to use but little oil, and never boil it; boiling it melts that vegetable dross into its very heart, which it is our business to clear away; for impure oil is death to colour. No; take your oil and pour it into a bottle with water. In a day or two the water will turn muddy; that is muck from the oil. Pour the dirty water carefully away, and add fresh. When that is poured away you will fancy the oil is clear. You are mistaken. "Reicht, fetch me that!" Reicht brought a glass trough with a glass lid fitting tight. When your oil has been washed in a bottle, put it into this trough with water, and put the trough in the sun all day. You will soon see the water turbid again. But mark, you must not carry this game too far, or the sun will turn your oil to varnish. When it is as clear as a crystal, and not too luscious, drain carefully, and cork it up tight. Grind your own prime colours, and lay them on with this oil, and they shall live. Hubert would put sand or salt in the water to clear the oil quicker. But Jan used to say, "Water will do it best, give water time." Jan Van Eyck was never in a hurry, and that is why the world will not forget *him* in a hurry!'"

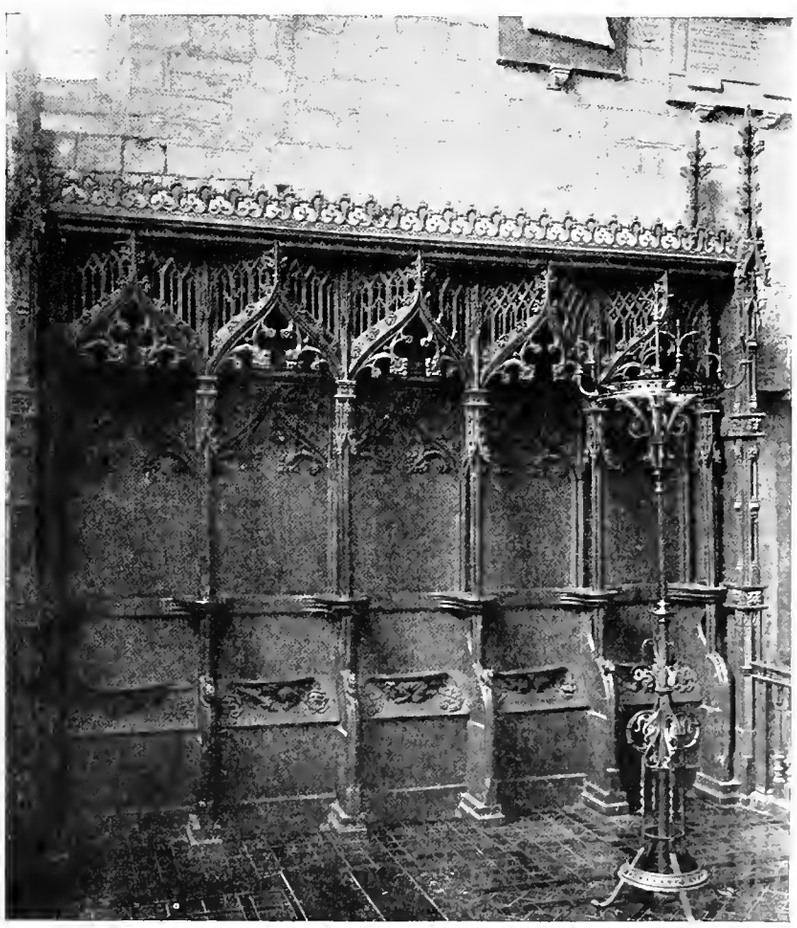


Fig. 106.
HEREFORD, ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, STALLS.
Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

The old luminers of Gothic woodwork appear

to have learned much the same lesson. Their palette was restricted; the earth colours, and here and there one of mineral or vegetable basis completed the gamut. These pigments, together with gold in leaf or powder (brush gold) were nearly always used in accordance with the law of emblazonry, colour on metal, or the reverse; rarely colour upon colour. It is probable that these luminers were also employed in heraldic emblazonry as well, and they would be well acquainted with tinctures and their application. Of colours and metals we get the following sequence: red (gules), green (vert), blue (azure), white—for silver—(argent), gold (or) and black (sable). Yellow is sometimes used for work of lesser importance. It ranks, in heraldry, as a metal. That this law of emblazonry of metal on colour or colour upon metal was not rigid, even among heralds themselves, may be seen in early coats. Thus the arms of the kingdom of Jerusalem are "*argent* a cross potent between four crosses, all *or*"; of Leycester of De Tabley, "*azure*, a fess gules between three fleurs-

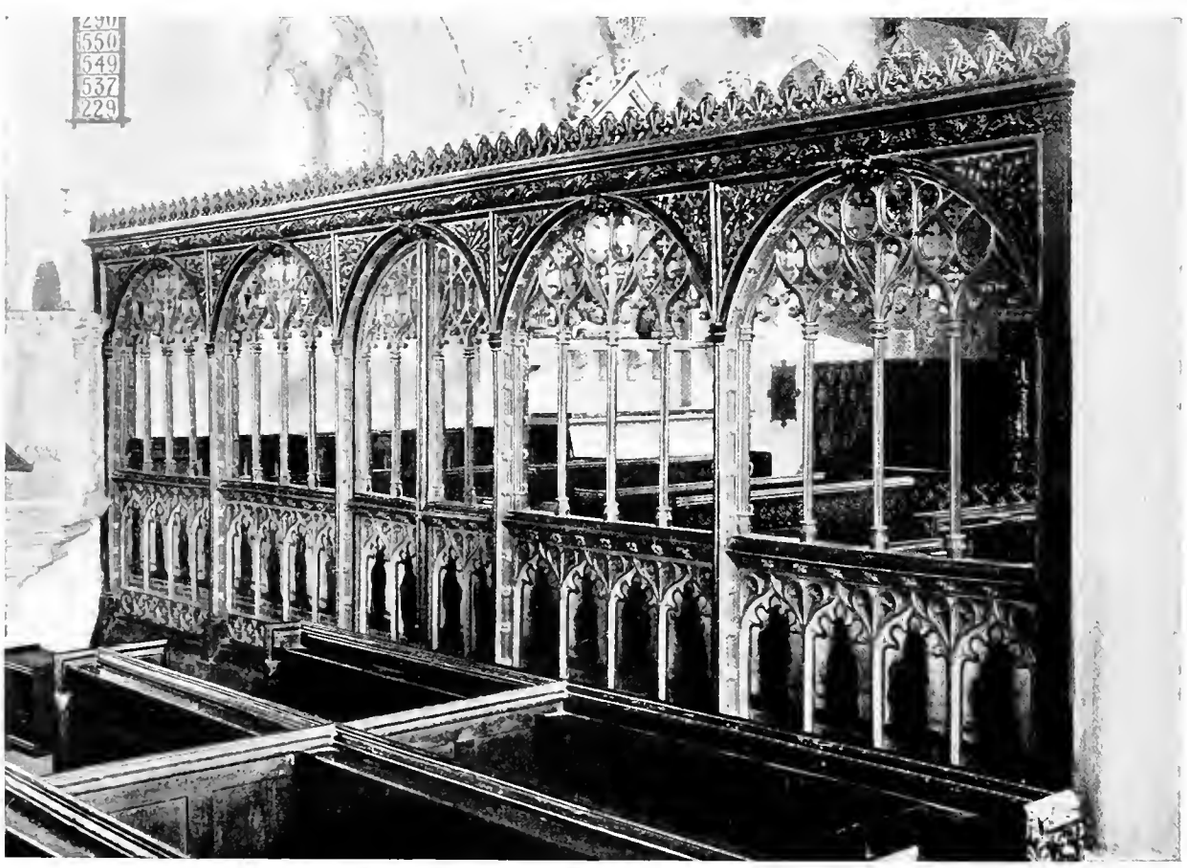


Fig. 107.
CHUDLEIGH, DEVON, THE WESTERN TYPE OF ARCHED SCREEN.
Mid-fifteenth century.

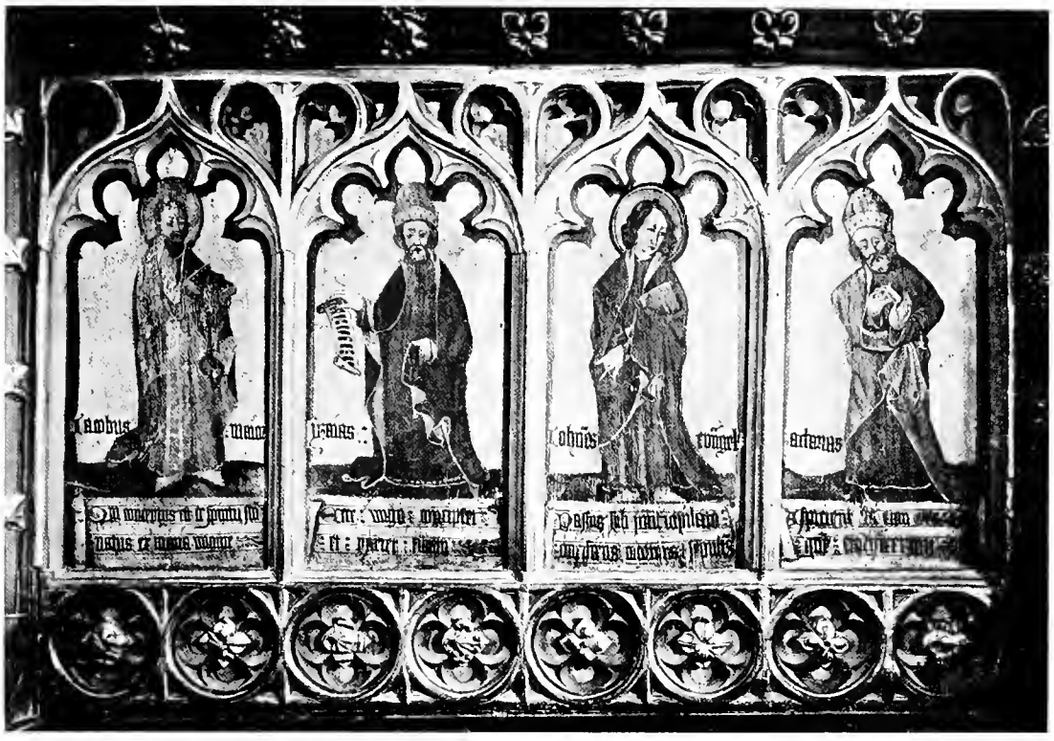


Fig. 108.
CHUDLEIGH, DEVON, DETAIL OF SCREEN.
Mid-fifteenth century.
Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

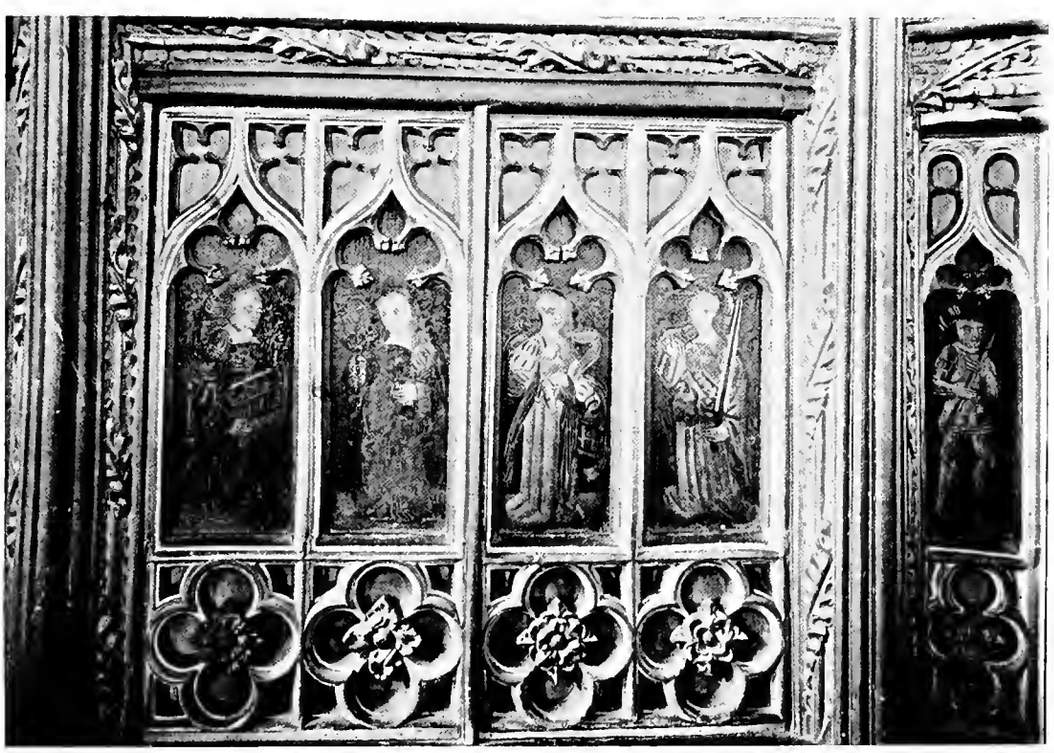


Fig. 109.
BRADNINCH, DEVON, DETAIL OF SCREEN.
Late fifteenth century.
Mr. Fredk Sumner, Photo.

de-lys *or*"; of Sir Richard de Rokesale (temp. Edward II) "*d'azure*, a six lioncels *d'argent*, a une fesse de *gules*."

Pictorial representations of figures were usually coloured "proper," that is with the natural hue, especially of flesh, but the heraldic system of alternation and counterchange was adhered to where possible, in the majority of instances.

Of vehicles or mediums it is impossible to state, with accuracy, whether oil or tempera was employed. The Van Eycks have been credited with the first use of an oil medium, but the evidence for this is dubious. The late Professor Ernest Berger (who was, perhaps, the greatest European authority on the Van Eyck school) was of opinion that the medium used by the brothers was an emulsion of egg and varnish. It is inconceivable that oil could have been unknown as a medium before the end of the fourteenth century. It is referred to by Theophilus in the twelfth century, and in the Cathedral accounts of Ely, Westminster and elsewhere, there are references to purchases of oil for painting. That oil was a treacherous medium unless thoroughly purified was also known

Fig. 110.

BARKING, SUFFOLK, E. SIDE OF CHANCEL SCREEN.

Mid-fifteenth century.

in the fifteenth century, or before, and the greatest care was taken in its refining. To obviate the danger of the darkening or discolouration of pigments, a tempera medium of egg emulsion was often preferred, the work being subsequently varnished.

If the Chancel is older in inception than the Nave, it is also of greater importance as the Sanctuary. Its chief treasure is the Altar, the centre round which the liturgy of the Church has grown. From this the Eucharistic sacrifice is offered and the sacrament administered to communicants. These Altars were of wood, in the earliest churches, but in the fourteenth century these were replaced by stone in nearly every instance, in obedience to the clerical law. It remained for a later secular edict to command that these stone altars should be taken down and replaced with plain wooden tables, under pain of severe penalties, and very few of the early examples remain at the present day.

These early altars must have been richly decorated, surmounted, frequently, by a retable or reredos of carved wood or sculptured stone, painted and gilded. In the case of high altars this reredos often occupied the full height and width of the chancel.[1] Side altars were also placed in the nave or aisles, as at Ranworth, and sometimes on the rood loft. These subsidiary altars were usually dedicated to particular saints, and, unlike the high altar, they were enriched and maintained at the expense of the parishioners.

The reredos was some-

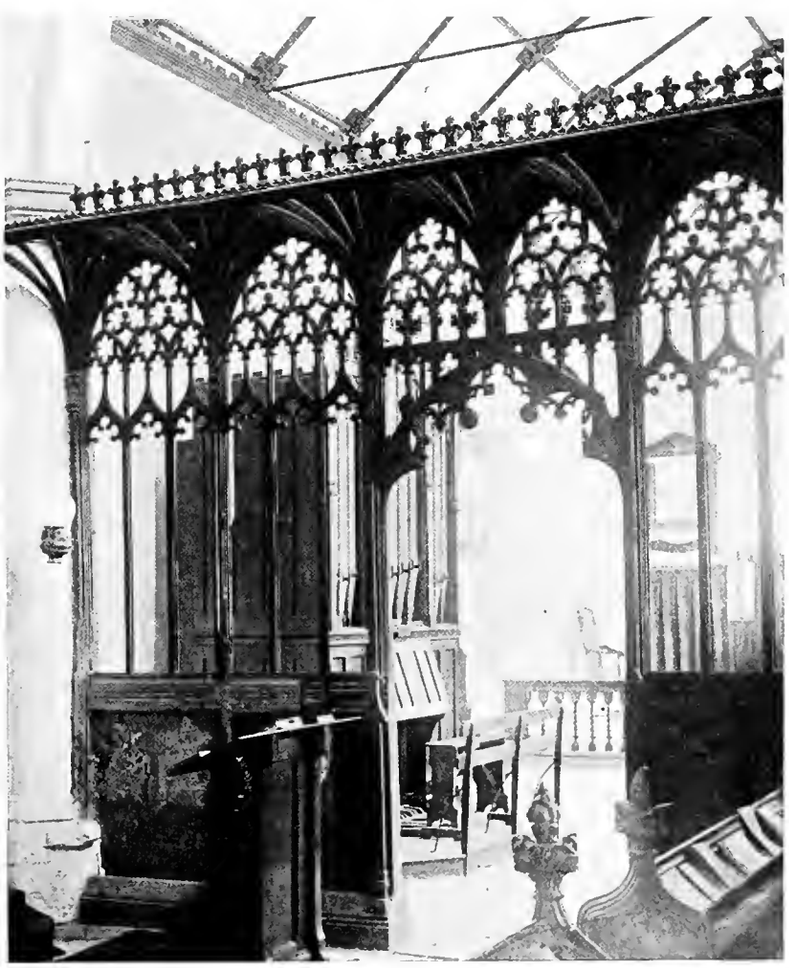


Fig. 111.
BARKING, SUFFOLK, W. SIDE OF CHANCEL SCREEN.

[1] As in some of the Oxford Chapels.

times in the form of a triptych, with central and hinged side panels which could be folded back or closed. Of Gothic painted super-altars very few have survived. The triptych form was more usual in the churches of Italy and Germany than in England.

The coloured frontispiece to this volume shows a fragment of a coloured retable of the last years of the fourteenth century, now preserved in Norwich Cathedral. It was discovered in 1847, it is said, with its face downwards, in use as the top of a table. It was owing to the efforts of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society that it was rescued and preserved, although in a deplorably mutilated and incomplete state.

Originally, this super-altar was formed by five horizontal boards of quartered oak, three-quarters of an inch in thickness, with an applied moulded framework, fastened with pegs. The five panels were formed by four vertical moulded mullions, mitred at the intersections, of which only one remains. In the five panels, on a carefully prepared ground of gilded and finely patterned gesso, are shown (1) The Scourging

Fig. 112.
RANWORTH CHANCEL SCREEN WITH PAROCHIAL ALTARS.
Late fifteenth century.
Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

at the Pillar ; (2) The Bearing of the Cross ; (3) The Crucifixion ; (4) The Resurrection and (5) The Ascension. The upper part of this super-altar is missing, and the central panel may have been somewhat higher than the others.

On the bordering framework the beads were originally gilt, with the fillets or chamfers between picked out in alternate blue and red, with small flowers stencilled in gold as a relief. The outer framing has a flat band of ornament, of which the corner sections, and the whole of the top length is missing, on which are the remains of small heraldic paintings on glass. These are, evidently, the coats of the donors, and from them the date of the production of the altar-piece can be deduced. Mr. St. John Hope, M.A., in a paper read at the meeting of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, in 1897 (Society's Proceedings, Vol. XIII), stated that he had deciphered such of the coats and banners as remain. They show the arms of Henry Despencer, Bishop of Norwich, 1370–1406, Sir Stephen Hale, Sir Thomas Morieux, Sir William Kerdeston (or a later member of the same family), Sir Nicholas Gernon and Sir John Howard.

Fig. 113.

RANWORTH, NORFOLK, DETAIL OF FIGURES IN BASE OF CHANCEL SCREEN.

Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

It is difficult to resolve this painted super-altar into any school, as it stands, more or less, alone. Dr. Tancred Borenius is of opinion that it may be French in inspiration, but in the closing years of the fourteenth century, the greater part of France, at least those districts from which this work could have emanated, were English possessions. Dr. Borenius also points out that the possibility of its English origin must not be ignored. It may be the work of a Church luminer rather than of a pictorial artist, and it is known that an English school of religious painting did exist at this period, the works of which have perished in nearly every case. This Norwich retable, therefore, may be an almost solitary survival of such work. It must be remembered, also, that it is prior in date even to Hubert Van Eyck, at least to the period of his better known works. He was court painter to the reigning Prince of Burgundy, Philip the Hardy, from 1410 to 1420. True, he must have been between forty and fifty years of age at

Fig. 114.
RANWORTH CHANCEL SCREEN N. ALTAR AND REREDOS.

Fig. 115.
RANWORTH CHANCEL SCREEN S. ALTAR REREDOS.

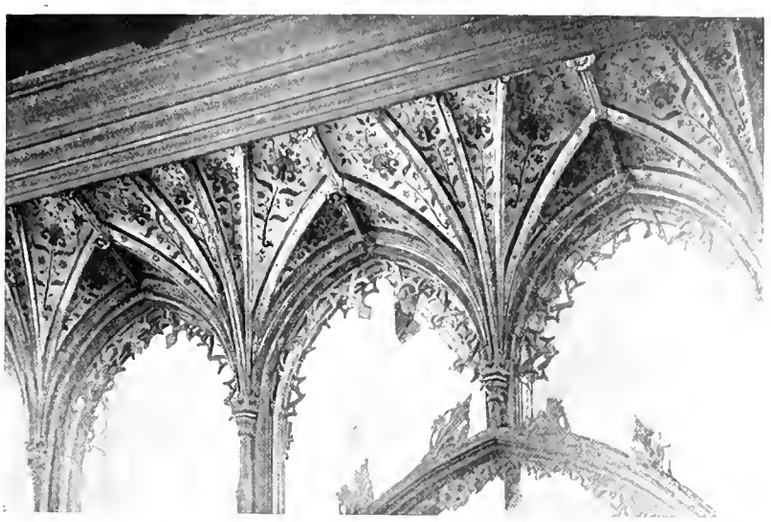


Fig. 116.

RANWORTH, DETAIL OF PAINTED VAULTING.

Fig. 117.

RANWORTH, SOUTH PARCLOSE.

Fig. 118.

RANWORTH, DETAIL OF FLYING BUTTRESS.

Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photos.

this date, and must have had a long painting career behind him, but it is more probable that he was influenced by this Norwich school of religious painters than that the reverse was the case. We know that there was considerable intercourse between Burgundy and England in the last years of the reign of Richard II. This Norwich retable is contemporary with the wonderful roof of Westminster Hall already referred to and described.

A considered judgment must conclude that this retable is of English workmanship and painting, one of the few, if not the only remaining example of a school of religious painters of the late fourteenth century. It is as remarkable for its technique as for its inspiration, considering that it is within half a century of Cimabue and Giotto. It must have inspired much of the fifteenth-century work in the panels of chancel screens, which have now to be considered and illustrated.

In the Church of St. Michael-at-Plea, Norwich, is a reredos formed of several painted panels which, although upwards of a century later than the Norwich example, still

Fig. 119.
SOUTHWOLD, SUFFOLK, CHANCEL SCREEN.

Late fifteenth century.

show the same manner perpetuated in this pictorial decoration of Church woodwork. One of these panels, representing the Crucifixion, is shown here in Fig. 92. It forms the south wing of the reredos. There is the same intricacy in the patterning of the gesso ground as at Norwich Cathedral, but in a more free and flowing manner. The drawing of the figure of Christ is less archaic, as one would expect at this date. St. Michael-at-Plea possessed a magnificent screen in earlier times, of which this panel may have formed a part. Of this screen nothing now remains, if we except these panels. In 1504 the will of Katherine, widow of Alderman Thomas Bewfield, leaves 5 marks for the painting and gilding of the rood-loft. A mark or mark of gold weighed eight ounces at this date, and was in value sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence in the coin of this time, a large sum in the reign of Henry VII and up to the date when his son began to debase the coinage, as in those days money purchased so much. It is improbable that a gold mark was indicated in this bequest, as the present-day value of such would be well over one thousand pounds, an exaggerated sum for the painting and gilding of a rood-loft.

It is with the chancel screens of the fifteenth century, the purpose of which has already been described, that both Gothic woodwork and its colour decoration reach their highest limits in England. Their use was to guard the sanctuary of the altar, and also to support a rood-loft, on the rood-beam of which was displayed the image of the crucified Christ, flanked, at a later date, with other representations of St. Mary and St. John the Evangelist. The rood is of great antiquity,—the name itself being of Saxon origin,—and was the object of much devotion in the Middle Ages.

At festivals, numbers of lighted candles or tapers were fixed to the rood-beam, and in some churches, as at Burford, Oxon, a light was kept burning continually on the rood-loft. These lofts, among other uses, were often the pulpits and the reading

Fig. 120.
SOUTHWOLD, PARCLOSE SCREEN.
Mid-fifteenth century.

Fig. 121

SOUTHWOLD CHANCEL SCREEN.

Detail of figure paintings.
Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 122.

SOUTHWOLD CHANCEL SCREEN.

Detail of figure paintings.
Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 123.

ST. ANDREW'S, BRAMFIELD, SUFFOLK, CHANCEL SCREEN

Width, 20 ft. 0 in. Height, 8 ft. 10 in.
Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 124.

BRAMFIELD SCREEN.

Detail of figures.

Fig. 125.

BRAMFIELD SCREEN.

Detail of figures.

Fig. 126.

BRAMFIELD, SUFFOLK, DETAIL OF PAINTED VAULTING.

Fig. 127.

BRAMFIELD, SUFFOLK, DETAIL OF GESSO-DECORATED TRANSOM.

Fig. 128.

YAXLEY, SUFFOLK, CHANCEL SCREEN.

Width between arch 3 ft. 10 in. Overall 12 ft. 10 in.
Mid-fifteenth century.

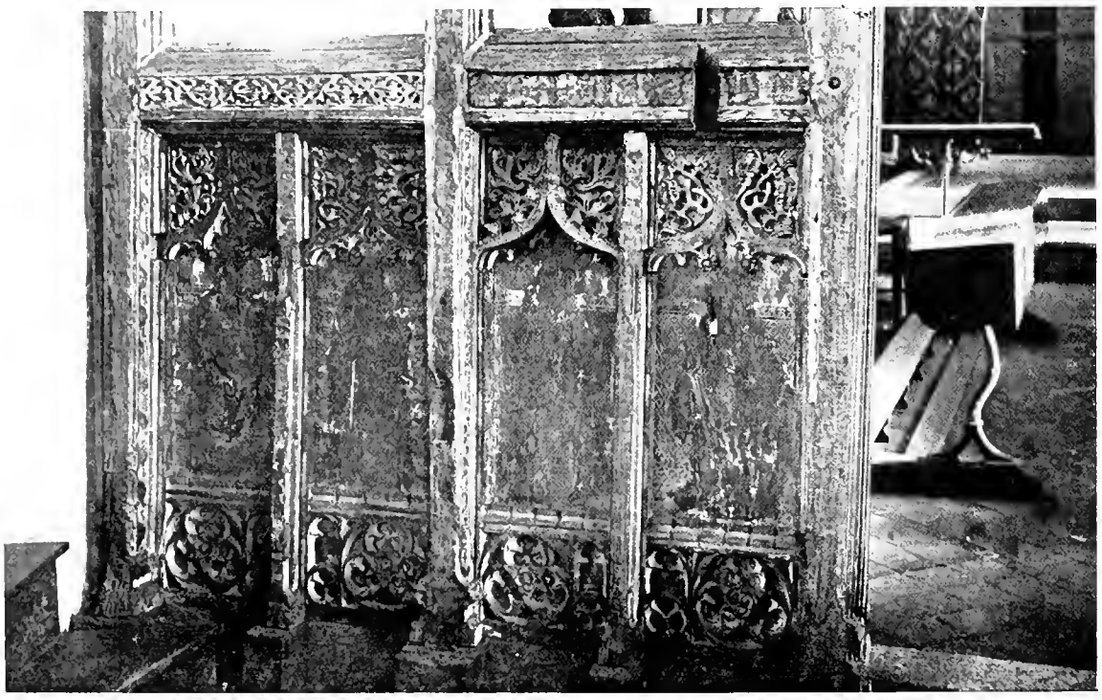


Fig. 129.

YAXLEY SCREEN, DETAIL.

Top of cill to top of transom 4 ft. 3 in.

desks of the Middle Ages, and the primitive musical instruments of the time, including the organ, were played from them.

There is no doubt that many superstitious practices were indulged in from these rood-lofts,[1] and their removal was ordered in Commonwealth times, and William

[1] The following extract from Burnet's "*History of the Reformation*" may be quoted here. Gilbert Burnet, as Bishop of Salisbury, would hardly be unduly biassed in these matters. Writing of the year 1537, he says :—

"They discovered many impostures about relics and wonderful images to which pilgrimages had been wont to be made. At Reading they had an angel's wing, which brought over the spear's point that pierced our Saviour's side. As many pieces of the cross were found as, joined together, would have made a big cross. The rood of grace at Boxley (Bexley), in Kent, had been much esteemed, and drawn many pilgrims to it. It was observed to bow and roll its eyes, and look at times well pleased or angry, which the credulous multitude imputed to a Divine power; but all this was discovered to be a cheat, and it was brought up to St. Paul's Cross, and all the springs were openly showed that governed its several motions. At Hales, in Gloucestershire, the blood of Christ was shown in a phial, and it was believed that none could see it who were in mortal sin; and so, after good presents were made, the deluded pilgrims went away satisfied if they had seen it. This was the blood of a duck, renewed every week, put in a phial very thick of one side, and thin on the other; and either side was turned towards the pilgrim, as the priests were more or less satisfied with their oblations. Several other such-like impostures were discovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving the people."

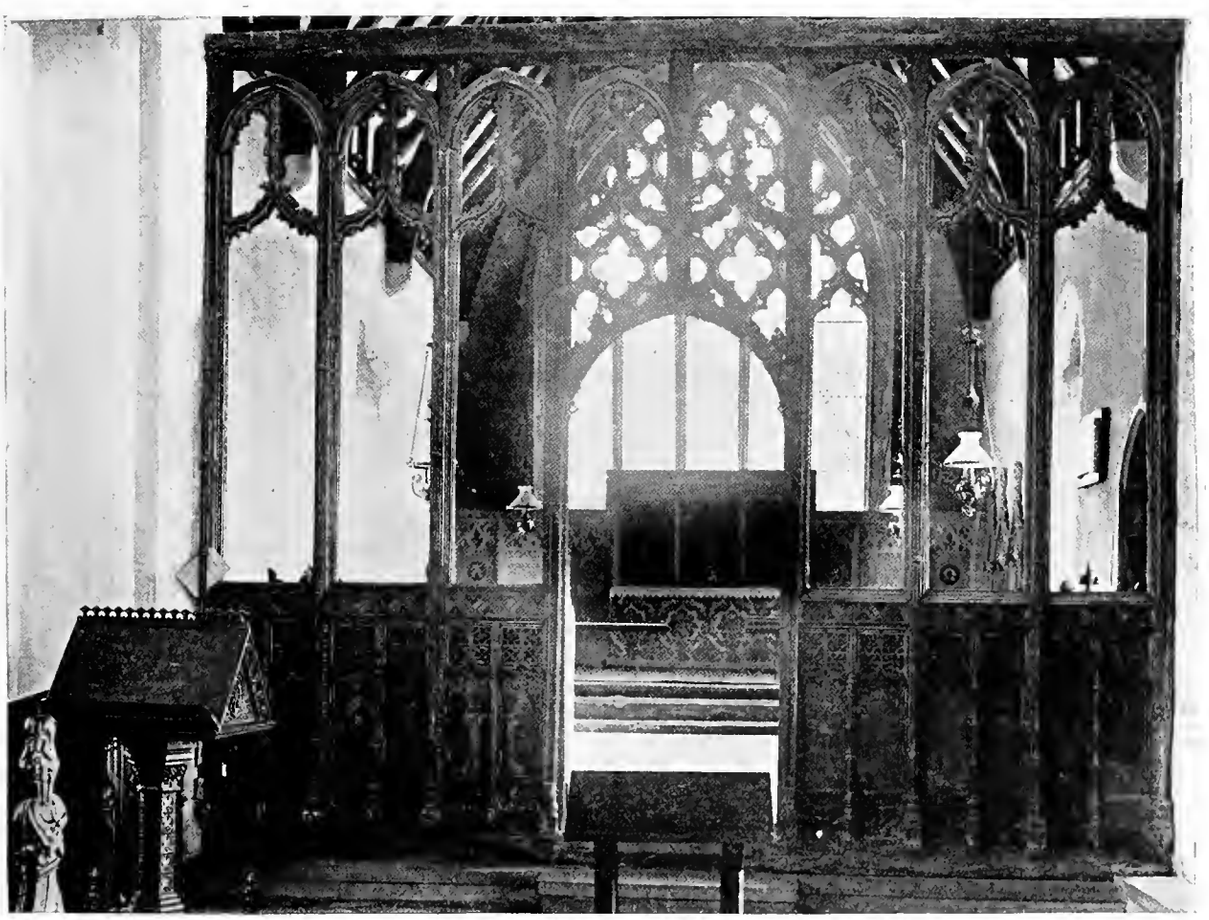


Fig. 130.
LUDHAM, NORFOLK, CHANCEL SCREEN.
Dated 1493.

Dowsing, the Commissioner of Parliament appointed to East Anglia, did his work of destruction very effectually, with the result that the wonderful screens of Ranworth, Southwold, Bramfield and elsewhere were ruthlessly despoiled of their lofts. The edict against the use of altars had already gone forth under Edward VI and had been obeyed even more thoroughly.[1]

[1] In 1550, "He (Ridley) also carried some injunctions with him against some remainders of the former superstition, and for exhorting the people to give alms, and to come often to the sacrament, and that altars might be removed, and tables put in their room in the most convenient place of the chancel. In the ancient Church their tables were of wood; but the sacrament being called a sacrifice, as prayers, alms, and all holy oblations were, they came to be called 'altars.' This gave rise to the opinion of expiatory sacrifice in the mass, and therefore it was thought fit to take away both the name and form of altars. Ridley only advised the curates to do this; but, upon some contests arising concerning it, the council interposed, and required it to be done, and sent with their order a paper of reasons justifying it, showing that a table was more proper than an altar, especially since the opinion of an expiatory sacrifice was supported by it."—Burnet, "*History of the Reformation*."

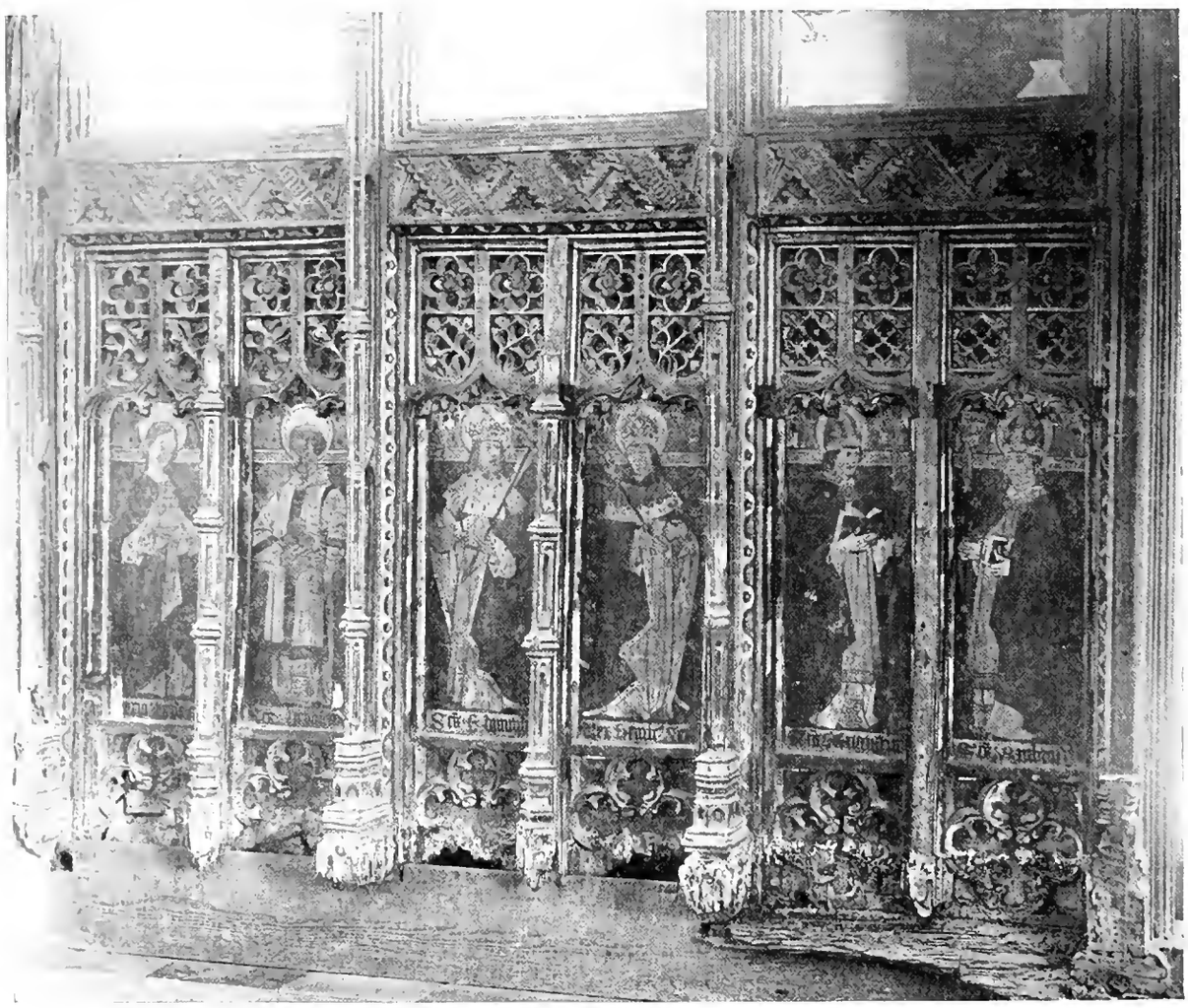


Fig. 131.
LUDHAM, NORFOLK, CHANCEL SCREEN.
Detail of painting and buttresses.

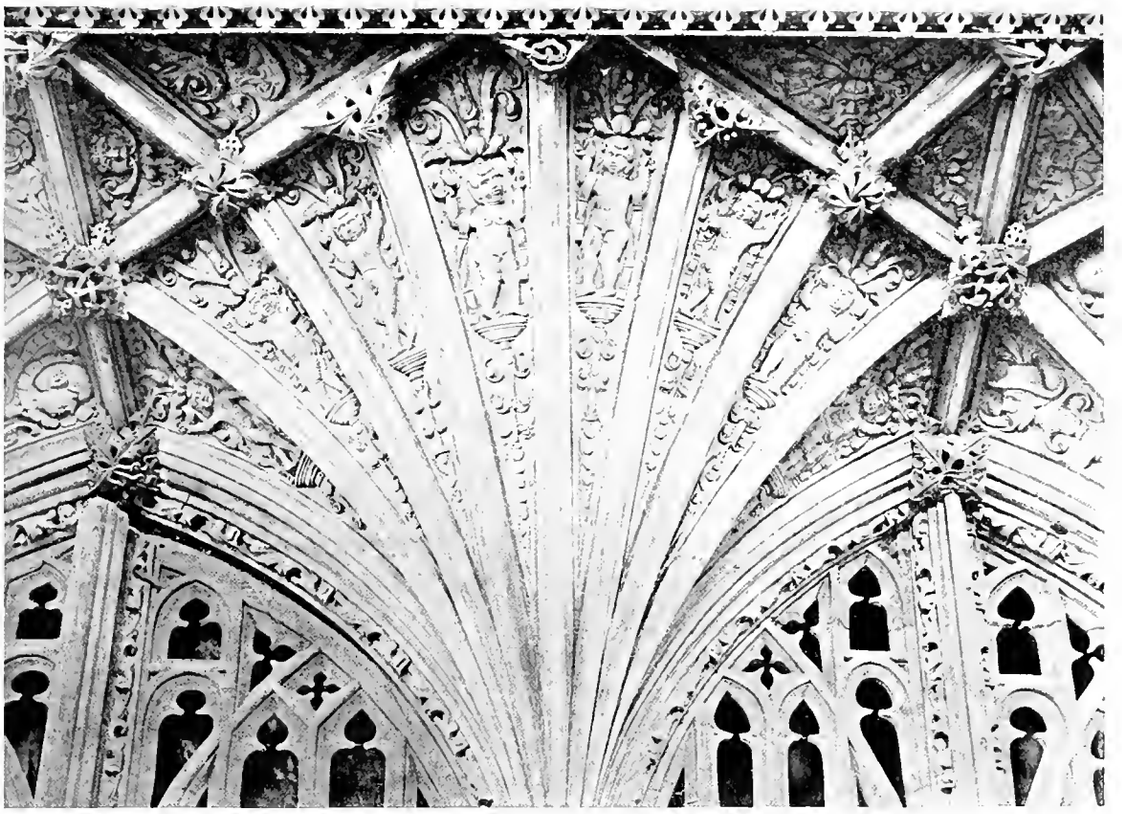


Fig. 132.

ATHERINGTON, DEVON, DETAIL OF VAULTING.

(See also Figs. 3, 4 and 5.)

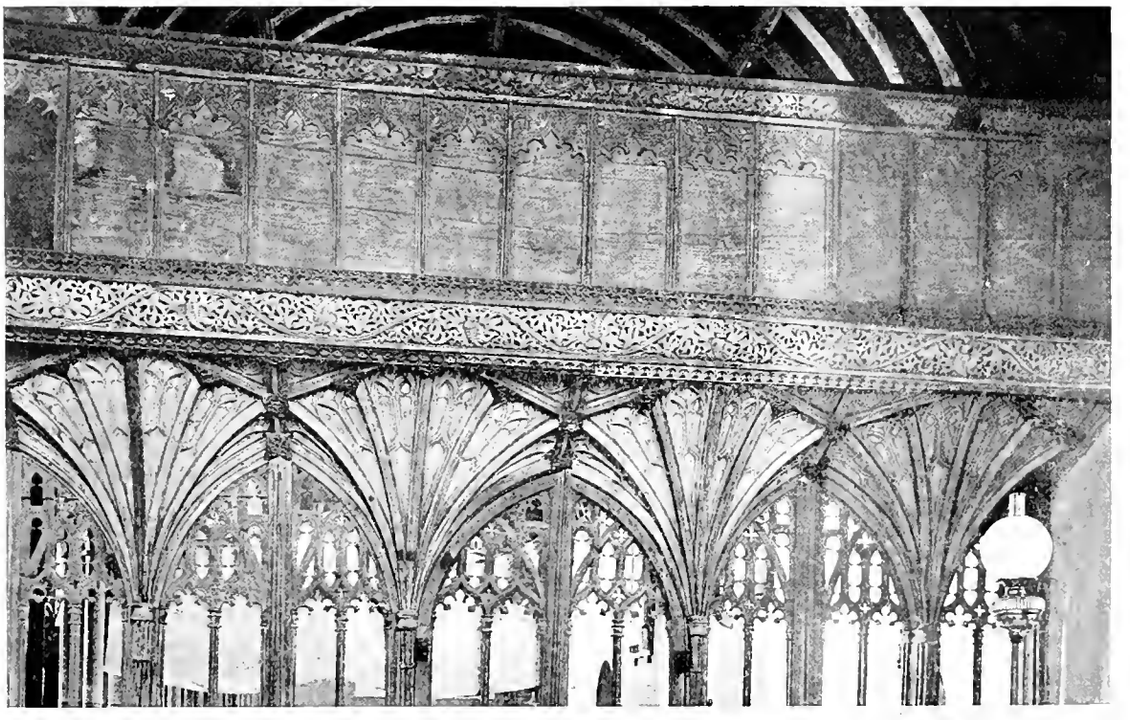


Fig. 133.

ATHERINGTON, DEVON, E. SIDE OF FORMER CHANCEL SCREEN.

Early sixteenth century.

Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photos.

These rood-lofts were reached, sometimes by a wooden stairway, more often by stone stairs from the aisles, or even built into the outer walls of the north and south aisles, when the screen stretched, as it did in many cases, right across nave and aisles. It was part of the ritual, on Good Friday, for the worshippers to ascend one of these staircases, to pass across the rood-screen and loft, and to descend by the stairs on the opposite side. Wagner has nobly commemorated this Good Friday ritual in "Parsifal."

At St. Michael-at-Plea is buried Thomas Porter who by his will dated 1405, "tied his messuage in this parish . . . to find a wax candle burning on the rode-loft daily at matins, mass and vespers, before the image of the Virgin." John Hebbys, mercer, who lies in the Chapel of St. John in the same church, in 1485, "charges his house to find a lamp for ever on the rode-loft, to burn daily from six in the morning to ten in the forenoon."

In some of these rood-lofts, particularly those in the south-western counties, where

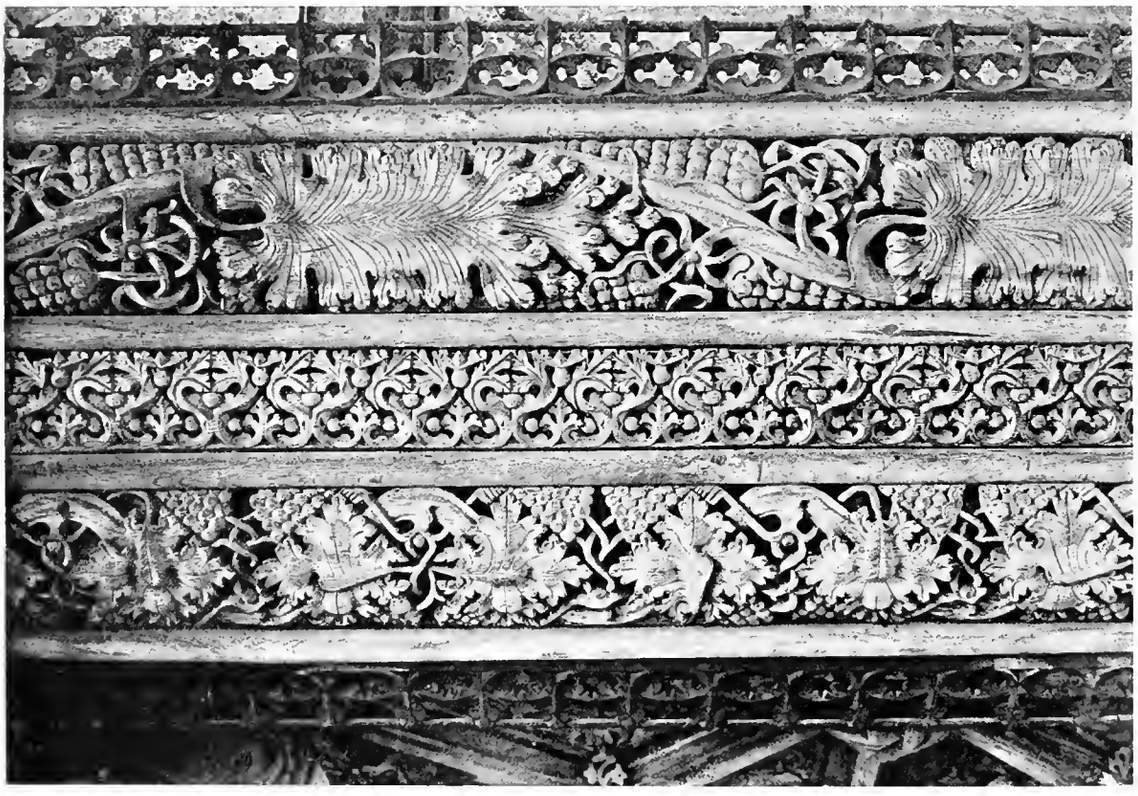


Fig. 134.

ATHERINGTON, DEVON, DETAIL OF BRESSUMMER, W. SIDE.

Early sixteenth century.

Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

they were often of great size, an altar was frequently installed in the loft, in which case it was used as a small chapel.

Whether the earlier chancel screens were always enriched with colour or gilding it is difficult to say. If remains of paint exist, as, for example, in the original part of the late fourteenth-century screen at Appledore in Kent, this may only indicate that the woodwork was painted over to tone with the Church. Traces of the original bright red with which the entire nave of this church was daubed have been found under numerous coats of white-wash. The chancel and chapel screens do not appear as integral parts of church woodwork before about the first years of the fourteenth century. Some crude examples, such as at Pixley in Herefordshire, and the fragment at Ivychurch in the Romney Marsh may be earlier. The timbering is massive and there is little attempt at ornament beyond rough moulding of mullions. It is difficult to imagine, however, in an age where the love of colour was one of its chief characteristics, that great masses of oak timbering would have been left, in the natural wood, with no attempt at decorative painting, however crude.

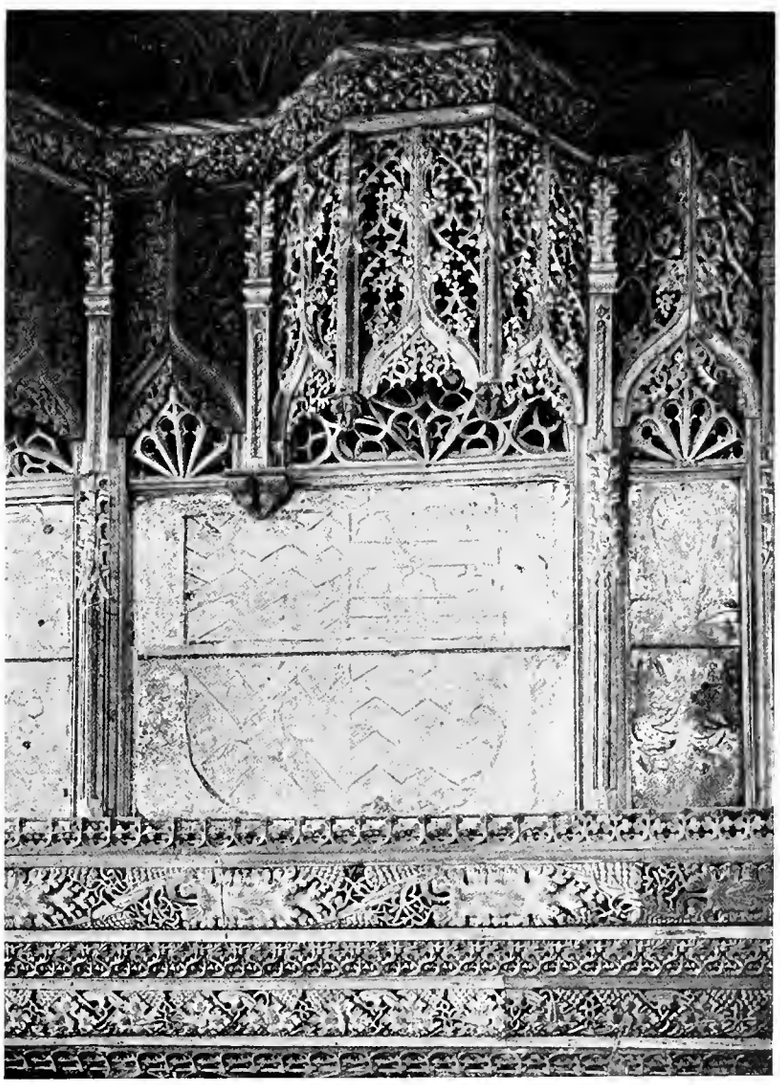


Fig. 135.
ATHERINGTON, DEVON, DETAIL OF TABERNACLE WORK ON W. SIDE.
Early sixteenth century.
Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

In the early years of the fourteenth century, carvings and tracery are

already well advanced in the decoration of these chancel and chapel screens. The woodworker follows closely in the steps of the stonemason, hewing his ornament from masses of solid wood in the same fashion, but achieving some noteworthy results, as in the late thirteenth-century choir stalls at Winchester, which show comparatively few traces of the renovations of Bishop Fox in the early sixteenth century. The canopies of these choir stalls are typical of late thirteenth-century woodwork of the more elaborate kind, such as William of Wykeham's Cathedral would have possessed. The main supporting posts are beautifully crocketted and niched, the intermediate balusters turned in simple and graceful form. The chief characteristic, however, is the pinnacled canopy to each stall, crocketted above and filled below with arches and tracery cut from solid timber. This is the stonemason's method. There is little or no construction in these huge canopies; they are hewn out with the maximum amount of time and patience which could have been expended on them. It is otherwise with such examples as the grand canopies at Chester, Figs. 94 and 95, for example, which are about a century later in date. Here we have construction fully developed, with a due appreciation of the qualities of wood in tracery, pinnacle and crocket, as compared with stone. The design is amazingly delicate and intricate. Contrasted with the lofty choir these canopies appear rather as lace-work than as creations of the woodworker.

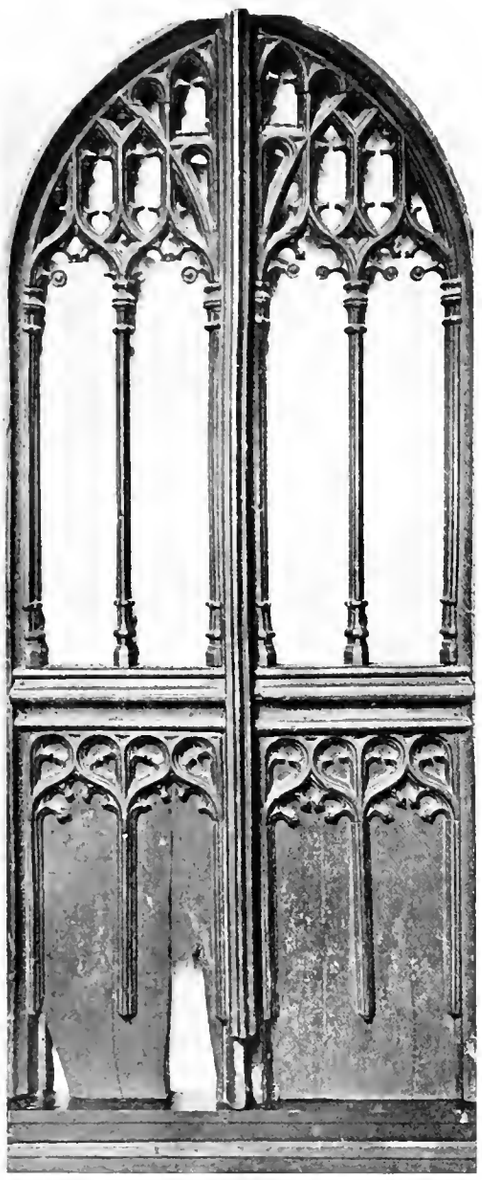


Fig. 136.
PART OF OAK SCREEN DOORS FROM A FORMER BISHOP'S PALACE AT EXETER.
7 ft. 10 in. high by 3 ft. 5 in. wide.
Mid-fifteenth century.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

From Cathedral to lowly parish church the same system applies. As the fourteenth grows into the fifteenth and again into the sixteenth centuries, we get progressive skill in construction with methods of ever-growing ingenuity, combined with a corresponding economy of material, until,

in the later and debased Gothic, traceries become almost impossibly delicate in proportion and bewildering in the intricacy of their ornament, as at Westminster Abbey, for example.

An account of colour decoration in Gothic clerical woodwork is, perforce, also one of the development of the ornament and construction itself. Whether colour and gilding were an integral part of the early work, or whether such decoration was applied as a super-refinement, after the climax of the carpenter and carver has been reached, it is not possible to say, after so much painting, whether original or of later date, has been removed.

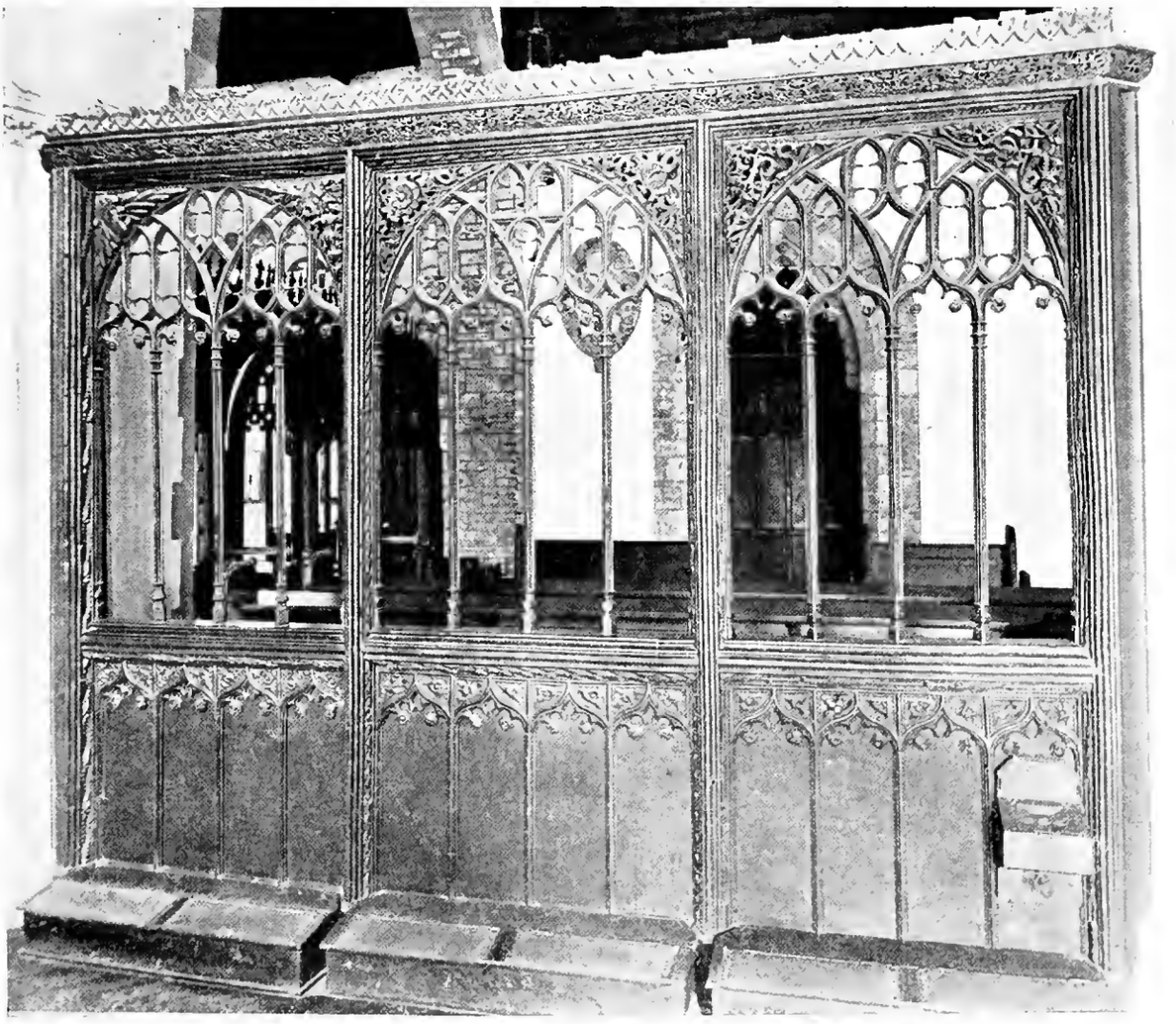


Fig. 137.
PILTON, N. DEVON, PARCLOSE SCREEN.
10 ft. high by 13 ft. wide.
Mid-fifteenth century.

Fig. 138.

BOVEY TRACEY, S. DEVON, SCREEN.

Late fifteenth century.

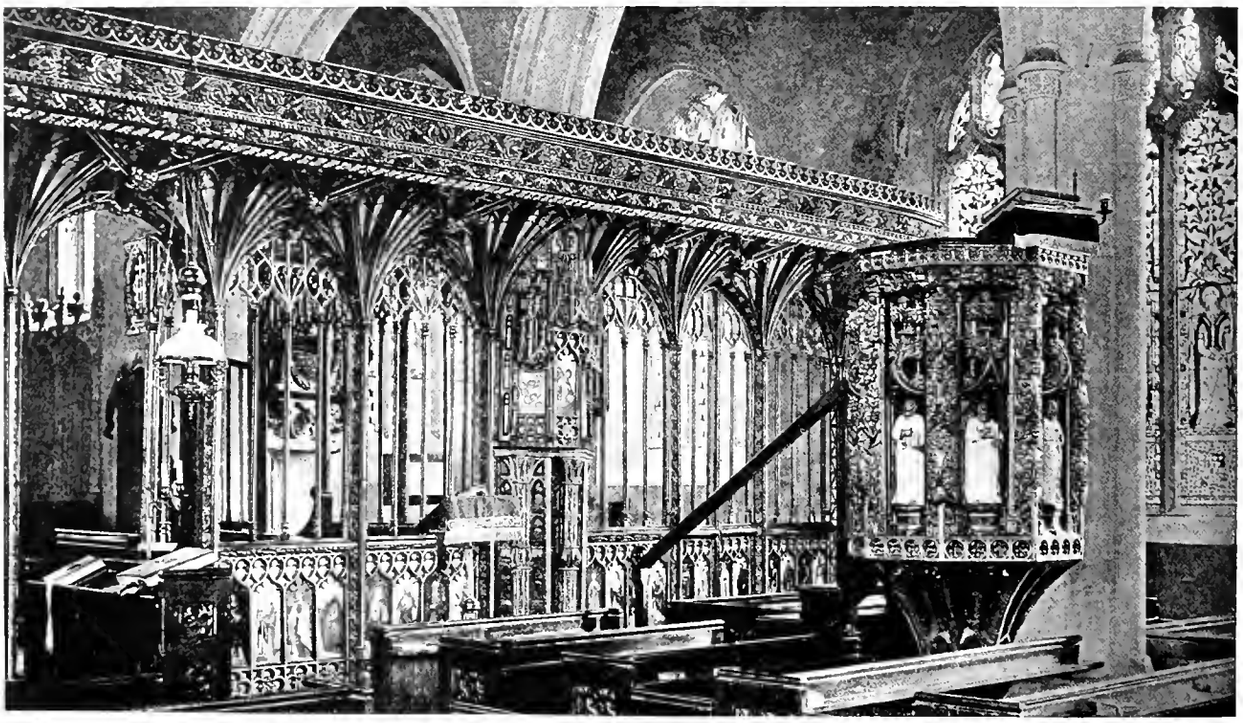


Fig. 139.

HALBERTON, S. DEVON, SCREEN.

Late fifteenth century.

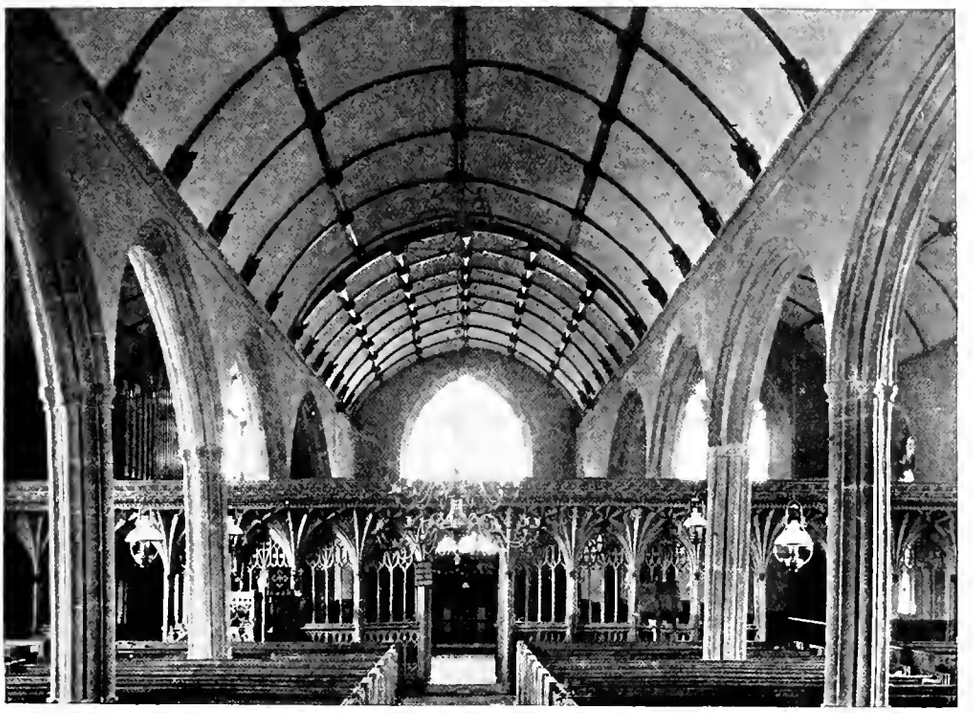


Fig. 140.
CHULMLEIGH, DEVON, SCREEN.
Late fifteenth century.

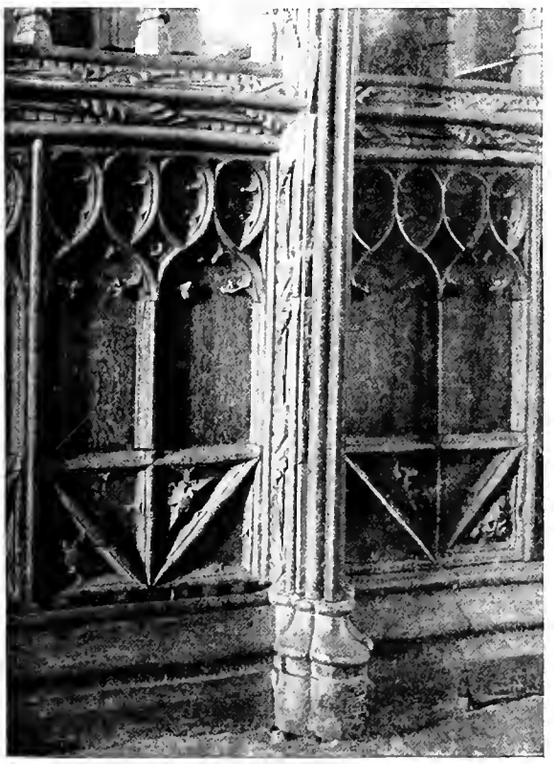


Fig. 141.
CHULMLEIGH, DETAIL OF BASE.

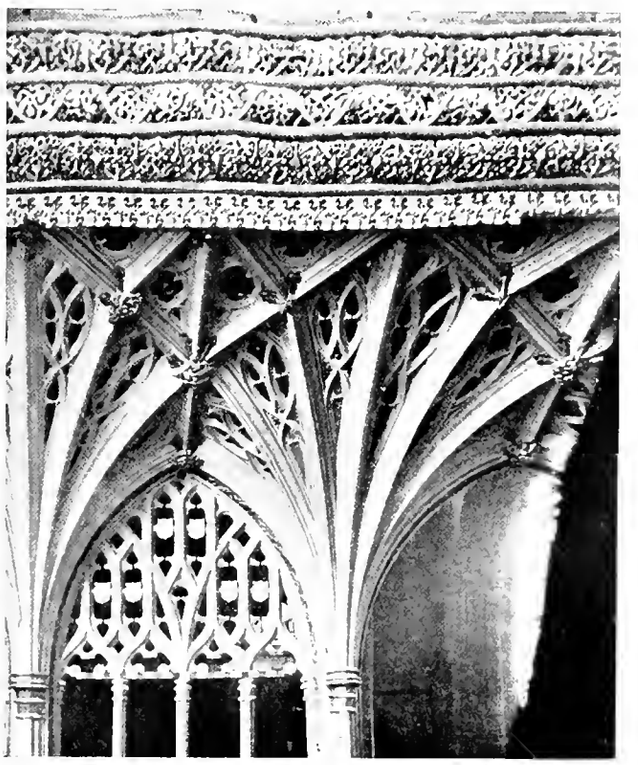


Fig. 142.
CHULMLEIGH, DETAIL OF VAULTING.

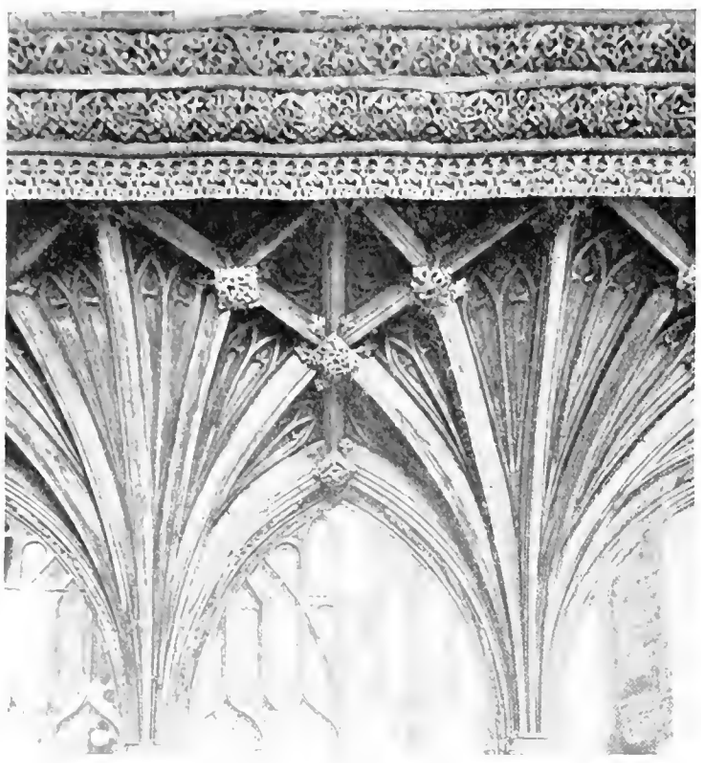


Fig. 143.

COLDRIDGE, DEVON, SCREEN.

Detail of vaulting.
Late fifteenth century.

In the little parish church of Culbone in Somerset is the little fourteenth-century screen illustrated here in Fig. 96. Another example is in Appledore Church, as far removed as the Romney Marsh, of very similar detail, which shows that the type must have been general at this date. The main frame of these simple screens consists of a cill, posts and a head or upper plate, all mortised and tenoned together. The heavy traceried heads are tenoned to the balusters instead of being grooved between vertical mullions in the later fashion. These heads are, therefore, cut from the one piece of timber, pierced with circles and with simple patterns, without cusping. In some of these early screens the shafts are turned; in others, as in this example, they are moulded. There is rarely any other decoration beyond a crude moulding of the framework.

In the fourteenth-century screen at Lavenham, Fig. 97, we have a marked advance in constructive methods, but Suffolk at this date was in a far greater state of artistic development than Somerset. Here the moulded mullions are crested with crocketted pinnacles tenoned between head-beam and transom, with crocketted ogival arches abutting on to them and bracing them firmly together. These arches, at their centres, are tenoned into the beam above, and are filled with tracery supported on a central slender shaft. The detail can be studied in Fig. 98. At Atherington, Fig. 99, the tracery is grooved into the mullions, both the ogee and the tracery being cut from the solid. Interlaced cusped arches are introduced into the lower panels, supported on moulded ribs which mask the panel-joints. It will be noticed that all these early screens of this type have square heads, the mullions being mortised directly into the beam, and with

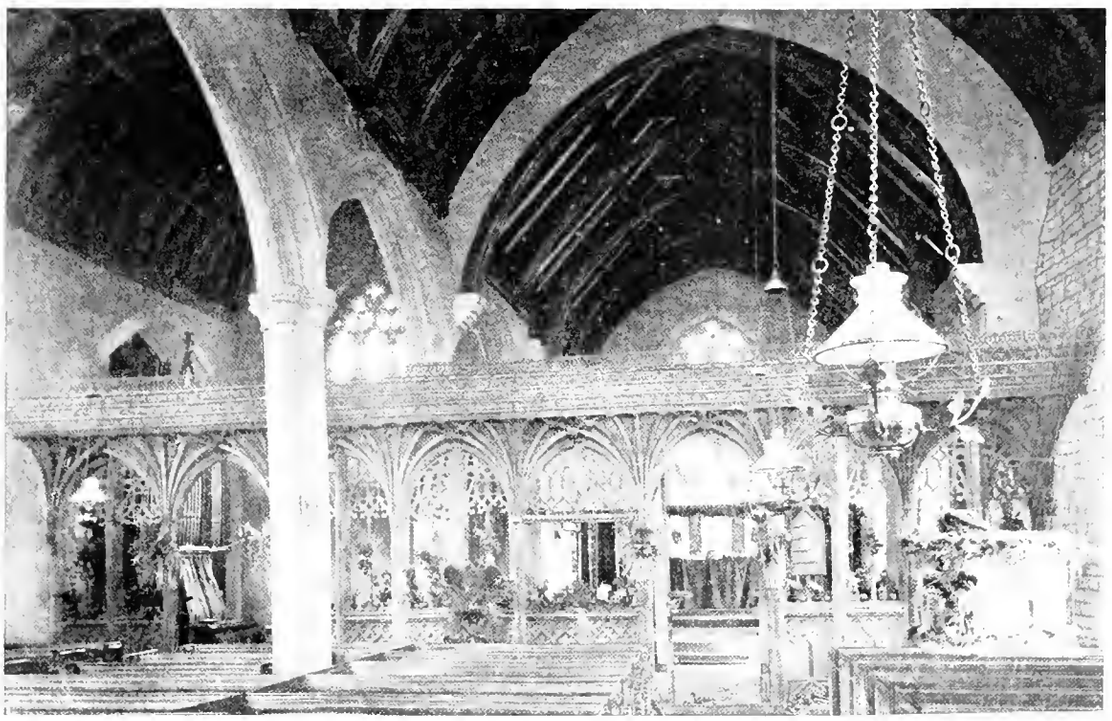


Fig. 144.

LAPFORD, DEVON, SCREEN.

Early sixteenth century.

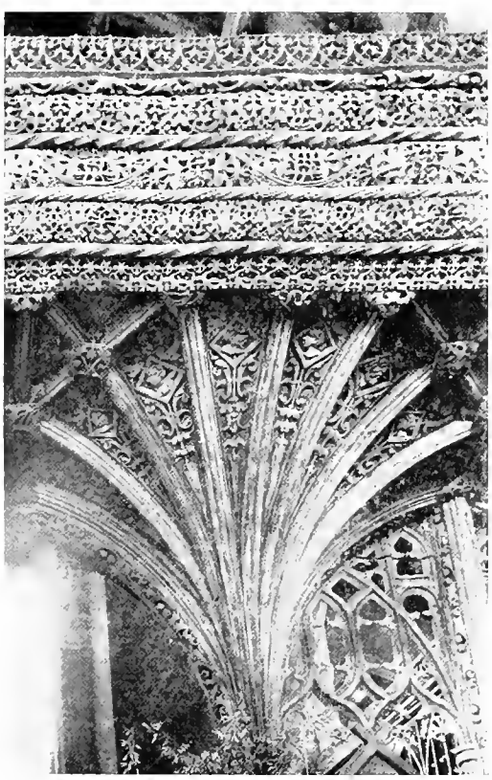


Fig. 145.

LAPFORD, DEVON, DETAIL OF VAULTING.

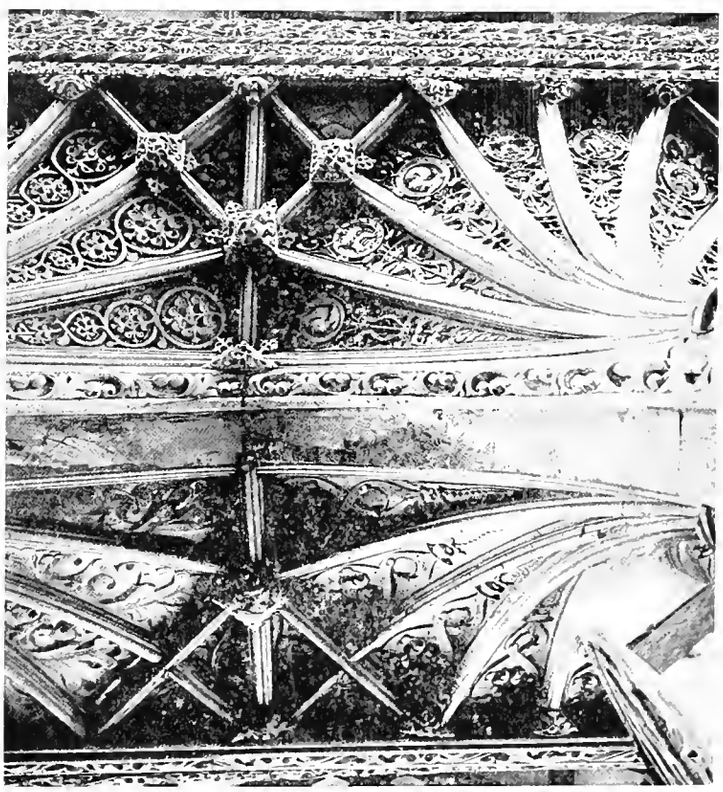


Fig. 146

LAPFORD, DOUBLE VAULTING.

Looking up.

Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo

traceried spandrels in the upper portion of the openings only. In some rare instances these openings were completely filled with tracery.

At Grundisburgh, Figs. 100 and 101, a further advance in construction is to be noted. Alternate mullions are carried through from cill to head in the form of posts with the intermediate mullions acting as framing members, dividing each bay into two lights or openings. The tracery, carried up to the head, is taken through these intermediate mullions, which are forked over it. The crocketted ogival arches are applied, pegged to the tracery, and supported on abutments formed on the mullions. Unlike Lavenham and Atherington, the entrance from nave to chancel is through a finely decorated archway. The chancel begins, at this date, to lose its former rigidly exclusive character.

The chapel screens at Barking, Figs. 102 and 103, show a further development in

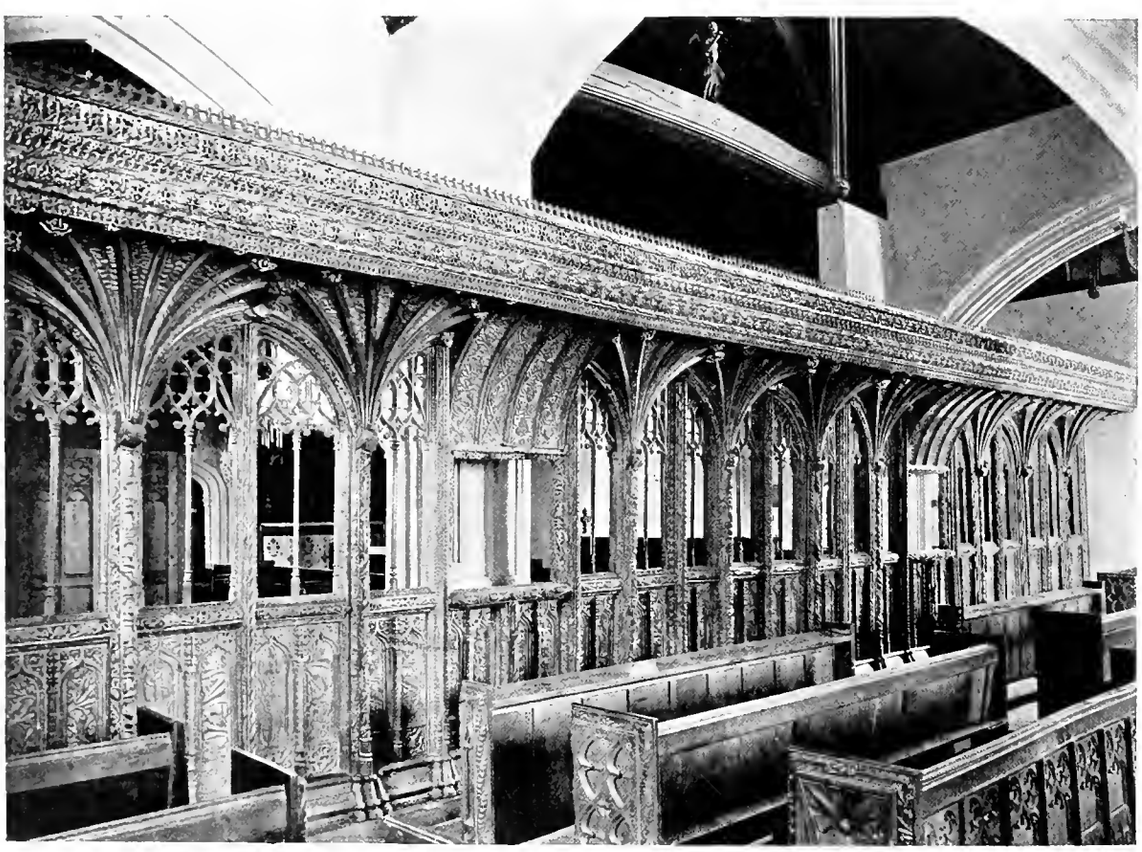


Fig. 147.
SWIMBRIDGE, DEVON, SCREEN.
Early sixteenth century.
Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

design, the tracery with its applied ogee arches being arranged in double and triple pendentive form, although the original carved finials are missing. The lower panels are enriched with applied tracery, grooved into the posts and divided by an applied moulded rib. At Lavenham, Fig. 104, the traceried heads are cut from the solid, with applied arched ribs, grooved into the mullions. In the N. aisle parclose screen, Fig. 105, of somewhat earlier date, the tracery is pinnacled or gabled in a manner reminiscent of many of the stall canopies of the period. The applied mouldings to some of the gables are missing and all the pendants have disappeared. Apart from the strong suggestion of foreign influence in these two examples, the Gothic is here fast losing its former logical character, and is degenerating into mere ornament. The stall canopies of All Saints, Hereford, Fig. 106, will show the standard reached before this decline. Here the ogival arched heads break forward and form niches, richly traceried above and crocketted below. There is the straight beam above, with both shafts and pinnacles tenoned into it. There

Fig. 148.

SWIMBRIDGE, DEVON, DETAIL OF SCREEN BASE.

Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

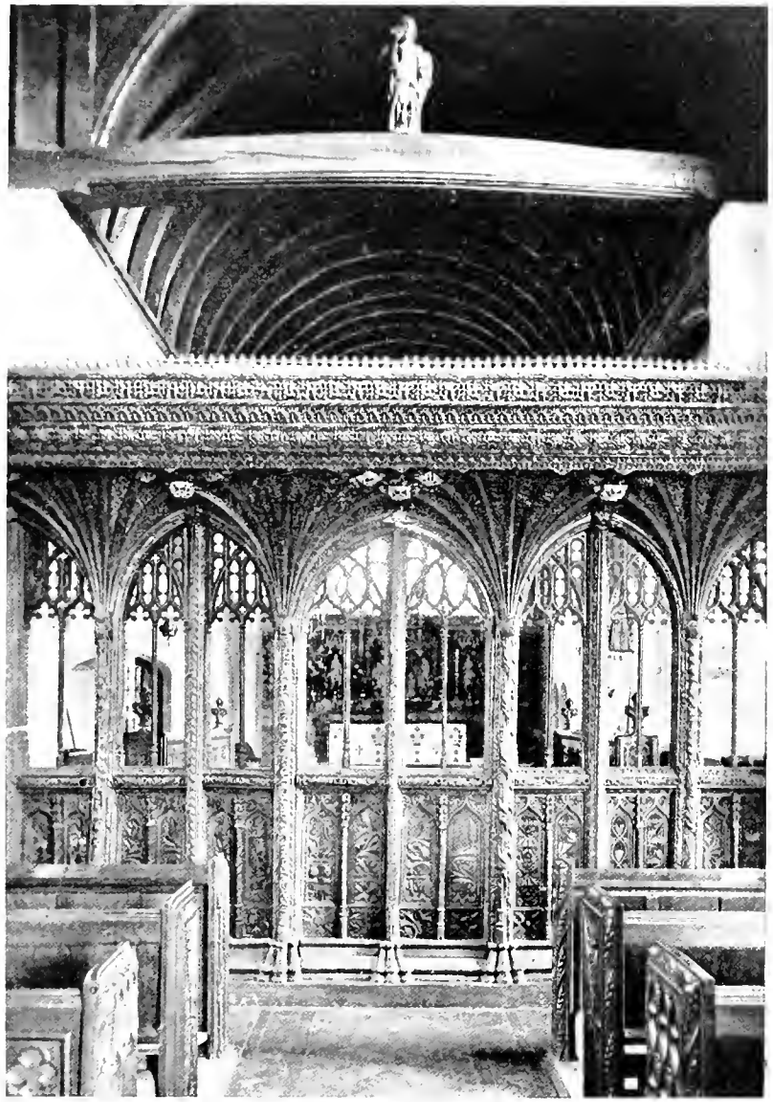


Fig. 149.

SWIMBRIDGE, N. DEVON, CHANCEL SCREEN.

Early sixteenth century.

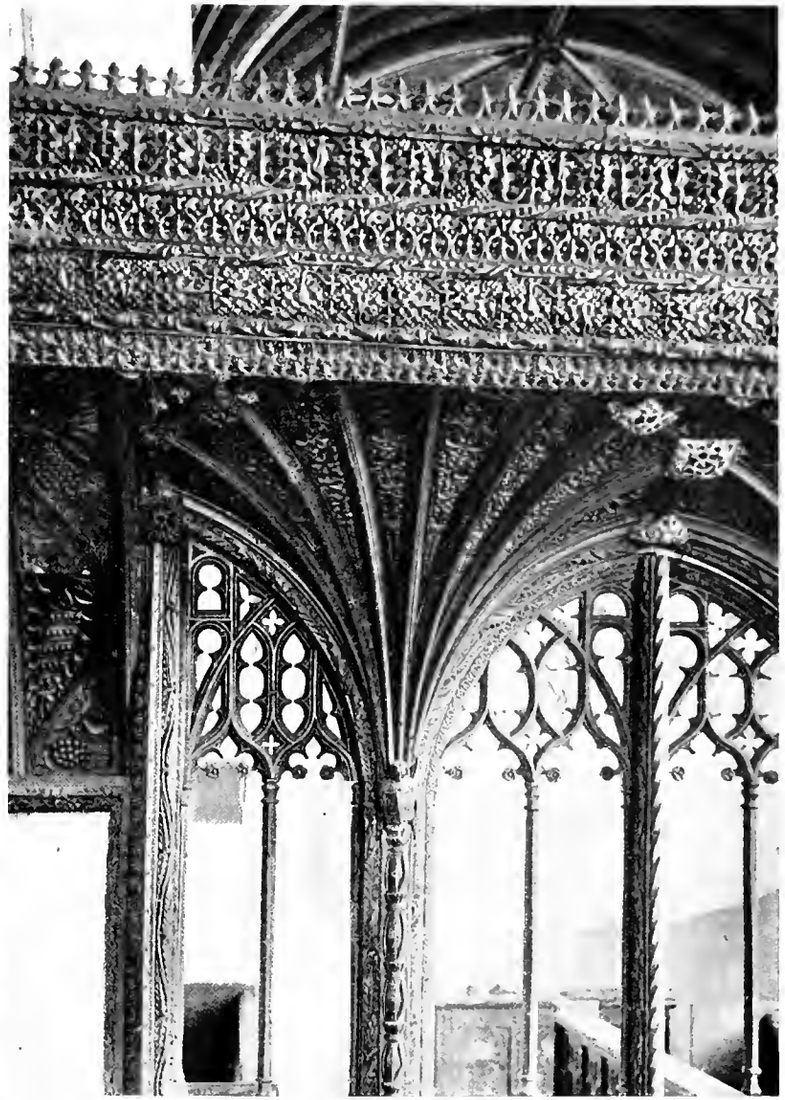


Fig. 150.

SWIMBRIDGE CHANCEL SCREEN.

Detail of vaulting.

Knight, Photos.

is not the massive grandeur which is noticeable in the design of the Winchester stalls, where the canopies are hewn from great masses of timber. Here the effect is achieved by constructional methods, although with some loss in dignity and splendour.

The chancel screen at Chudleigh, Figs. 107 and 108, introduces the arched type of the West. It is formed of five bays, the arched moulded heads of stout section, tongued between head and post. The tracery of each bay is grooved into the head and supported on three moulded shafts, with caps and bases. There is a strong suggestion of the fourteenth-century influence still remaining in the heavy solid traceried heads, which are carried behind the foliated spandrels into the posts. In the base panels, formed by crocketted tracery, with large ribs tenoned into a bottom rail carved with a series of quatrefoils in circles, are painted figures with inscriptions below executed with simplicity but with considerable taste. A similar treatment will be noted in the screen from Bradninch, Fig. 109, but here the character is somewhat later, the mullions being taken through to the cill, with the quatrefoil tracery applied over the panels. The painted figures are in late fifteenth-century costume.

Fig. 151.
COLDRIDGE, DEVON, PARCLOSE SCREEN.
Early sixteenth century.

The screens surmounted by rood-lofts offer different

constructional problems. These rood-lofts are, or were, for very few have survived the purposed destruction of Puritan times, of two classes, those with single overhang, that is where the loft projected on the nave side only, and those where the loft hung over the line of the screen equally on its east and west side. The cill or base was nearly always continued across the whole width, forming a step or threshold across the opening from nave to chancel. The posts, with solid buttresses as at Southwold, Fig. 121, or with flying buttresses as at Ludham, Fig. 131, are strongly mortised into the cill and the beam, and at a distance of about four feet from the floor, are stiffened by the insertion of a heavy rail or transom. The heads are traceried, either between, or on moulded ribs fixed to the transom below. The loft, where its overhang was on both sides of the screen, was supported on joists, placed transversely across the beam, either notched over, or tenoned into it, these

Fig. 152.

BRUSHFORD, SOMERSET, CHANCEL SCREEN.

Early sixteenth century.

Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

joists in turn being tenoned into the bressummers which supported the fronts of the loft. These beams were housed, generally, into the walls of the chancel, or, where the lofts extended right across the nave, into those of the aisles. Further support was given to the joists by means of brackets to the posts of the screen, and on these the groining or vaulting was applied. The handrails or upper beams of the rood-loft were fixed into the walls in the same manner as the bressummers, and the upright muntins were tenoned between. The vaulting, which sprang from the face of the posts to the base of the rood-beam, was formed by shaped ribs, pegged to the posts, and tenoned into the beam above, grooved or rebated to receive the panels.

The groined screen of Barking, Figs. 110 and 111, shows an early development of this type, the deep tracery being pierced in arcaded form and stiffened by the inner ribs of the groining, which are fixed to the posts. Mullions are inserted to support the tracery, breaking each bay into a triple light, small beads being pegged to both faces for strength and decoration. The delicate carved ogees are missing and the carving has suffered much mutilation, but the east side, which is not vaulted, exhibits some beautiful carving in the spandrels, and especially upon the entrance arch, which is decorated with crockets, in quaint bird form, and is full of that whimsical creation in which the mediæval woodworker delighted. Fig. 111 shows the vaulted side of the screen, its former rood-loft now replaced by a modern cresting. The construction of the vaulting can be seen, where the panels are missing from the ribs, and the mortise in the stone arch, which can be seen on the left, may indicate the position of an earlier rood-beam, of a date prior to that of the screen itself, when these beams were fixed across chancels without lofts or screens below (see Fig. 149).

The decorative painting of these fifteenth-century screens varies considerably in different localities, not only in quality, but also in type. A general distinction may be made between those of the East and the West. The East Anglian screens are distinguished by their lightness of structure, and delicacy and refinement of proportions in tracery, cusping, and similar details. They are more lofty than those of the West-country, and in design and treatment are more restrained. The lofts, where they exist, are narrower than those of the West. The painting, as a rule, is exceedingly rich in quality and detail, a lavish use being made of little blossoms in gold and colour, as in the vaultings and the mouldings at Ranworth (Figs. 112 to 118) and Bramfield (Figs. 123 to 127). A strong sense of general colour is also preserved, which prevails over

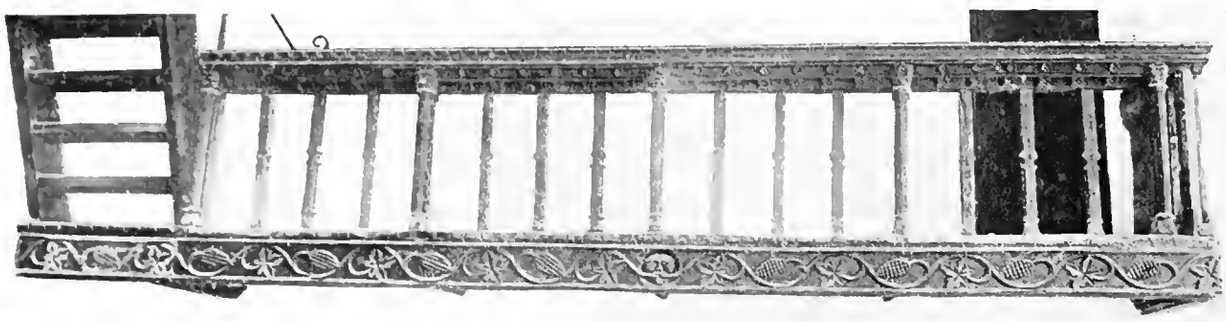


Fig. 153.

TAWSTOCK, N. DEVON, THE GALLERY.

Length 16 ft. 6 in.
Early sixteenth century.

the entire harmony. Thus Ludham, Figs. 130 and 131, has red as the principal note, whereas at Bramfield blue predominates, in each instance relieved with gold. The rule of heraldic colouring, of metal on colour, or colour on metal, is usually rigidly observed. The use of gilded gesso with tiny patternings of geometrical or free form, is the chief

Fig. 154.

HOLBETON, DEVON, SCREEN.

Early sixteenth century.

Fig. 155.
HOLBETON, DEVON, DETAIL OF BRESSUMMER.

characteristic of the finer examples, as at Bramfield, Southwold, Figs. 119, 121 and 122, or Yaxley, Figs. 128 and 129. This gesso ornament was used, both as a ground for the painted devices, or as the actual decoration of fillets and moulding members, or of the buttresses, as at Southwold.

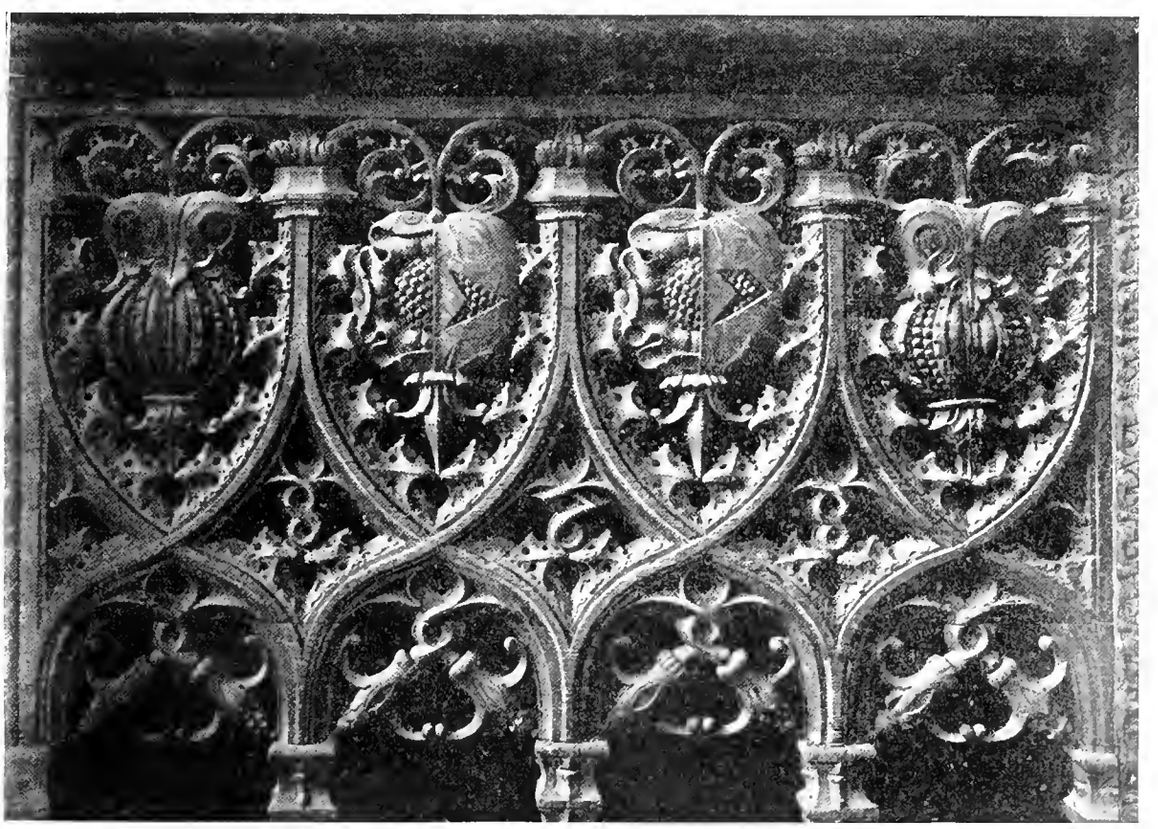


Fig. 156.
HOLBETON, DEVON, DETAIL OF TRACERY.
Early sixteenth century.
Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photos.

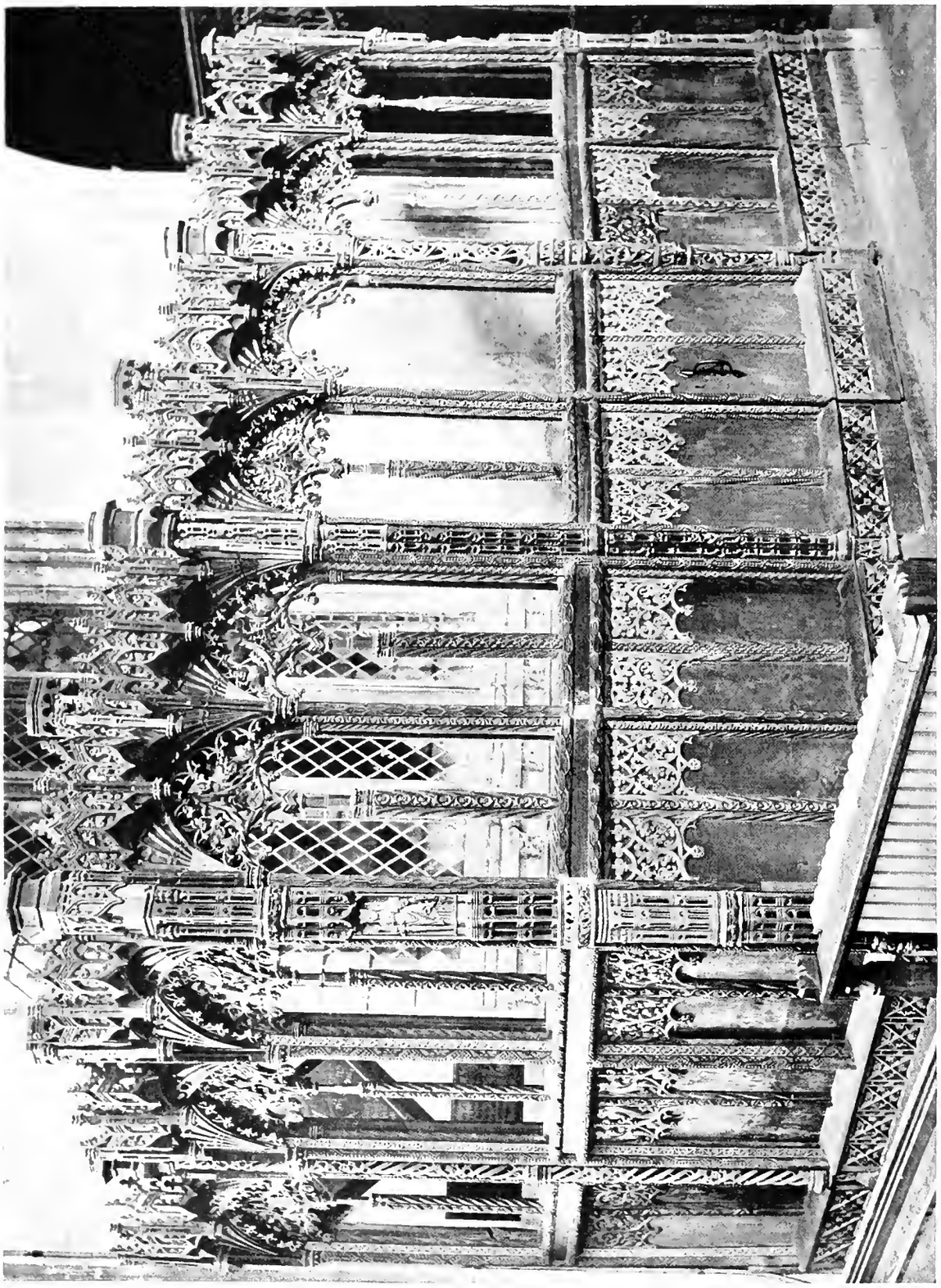


Fig. 157.
LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK, THE SPRING PEW.
Early sixteenth century.

Mr. C. J. Abbott, Photo.

At Ranworth, a small Norfolk village at the head of Ranworth Broad, the screen is probably the finest in East Anglia. It is of the late fifteenth century, of delicate proportions, and extends across the chancel in the form of eight bays, the opening of the chancel being contrived in the central two. Beyond the screen are retables on the north and south, with subsidiary altars below, and projecting into the nave are parclose screens with flying buttresses, Figs. 117 and 118, which shield the parochial altars. The groining to the loft, Fig. 116, was formerly in the form of a double vault, of which the outer members have disappeared, together with the loft itself. The groining seen in the illustration continued downwards in pendentive form, then sprang upwards and outwards to the loft-beam. The mutilation has been partially masked by the modern cornice. Originally the effect of this double vault must have been unique in its rich decorative effect. The parclose screens are of panelled framing, the principal posts assisting in the support of the loft-beam. The outer sconce-posts are braced to those behind by richly decorated flying buttresses, one of which is shown in Fig. 118.

Fig. 158.

LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK, THE OXFORD PEW.

Early sixteenth century.

Mr. C. J. Abbott, Photo.

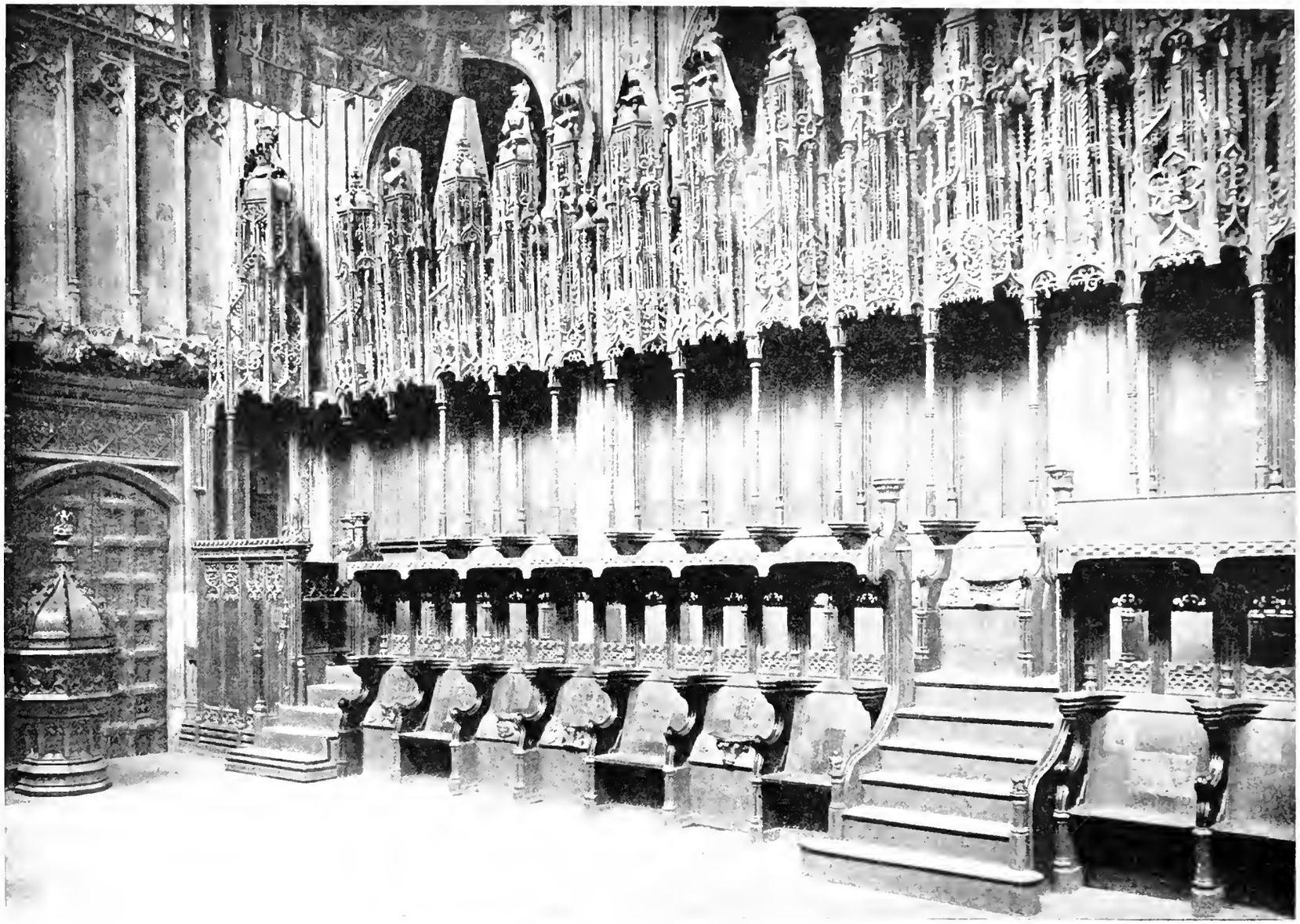


Fig. 159.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY, CHAPEL OF HENRY VII.

Last quarter of fifteenth century.

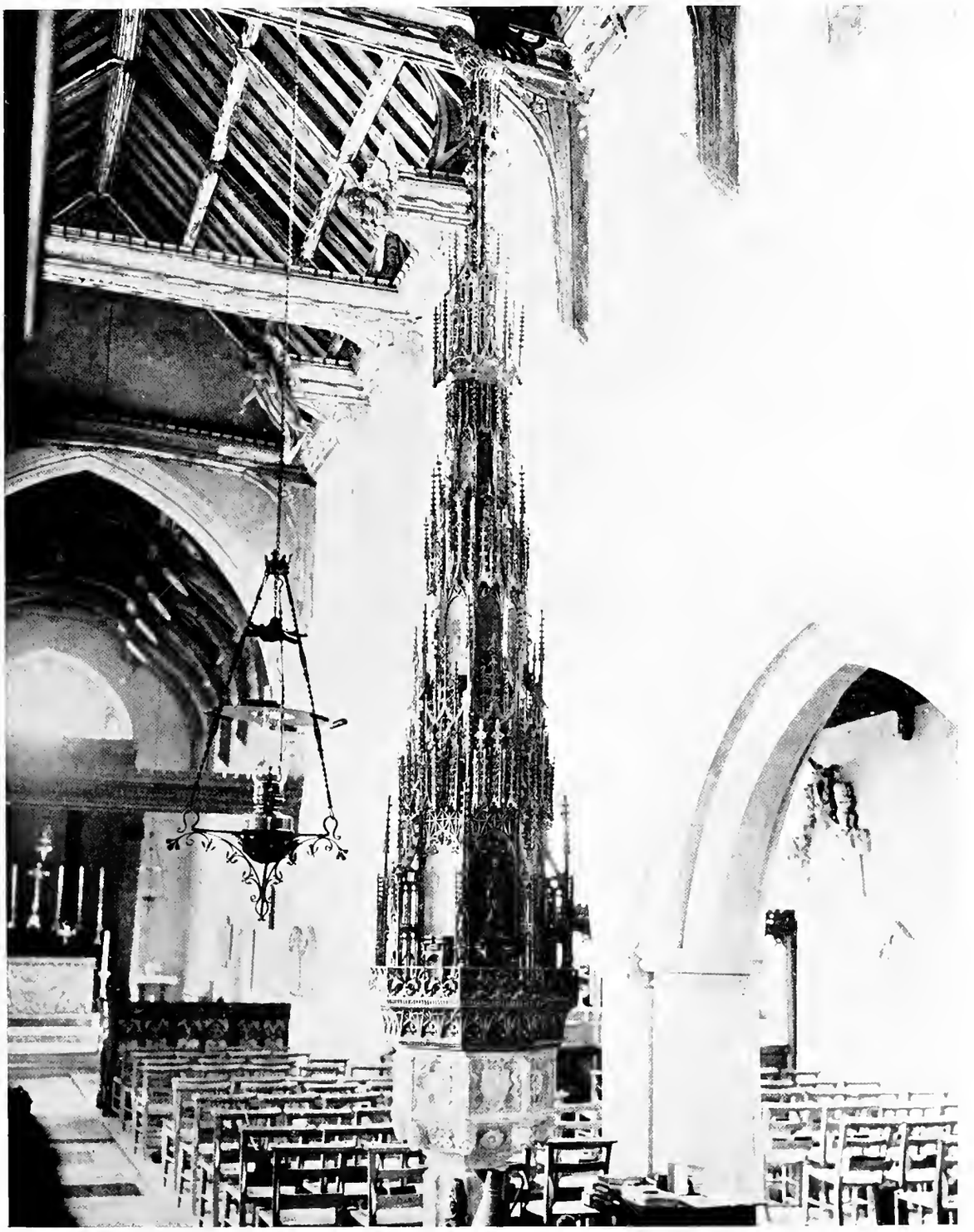


Fig. 160.

UFFORD, SUFFOLK, THE FONT COVER.

Late fifteenth century.

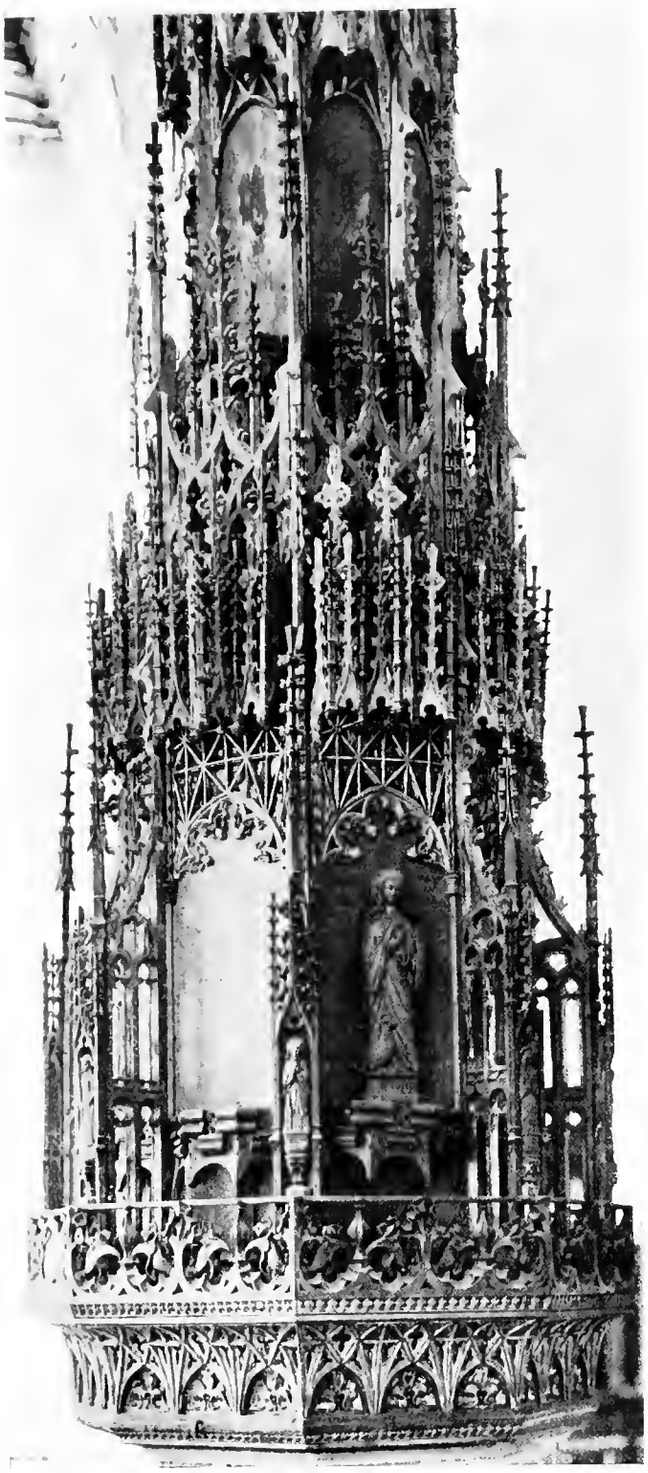


Fig. 161.
UFFORD FONT COVER, DETAIL.

The double groining was supported by the insertion of an intermediate bressummer or joist in the floor of the loft. The original effect of this screen, with its painted pendentive double-vaulting before the chancel, the retables complete with their delicately tabernacled niches, pierced cusped arches, and decorated vaulting above, the whole surmounted by a rood-loft of equal richness of design, must have been one of extreme beauty. The figure paintings upon the whole of the screen are of wonderful charm of colour and spirituality of drawing. They appear to have been painted in tempera upon a gesso ground. The figures upon the North wing, Fig. 114 (Retable to the Chapel of St. John), are St. Etheldreda, St. Mary of Egypt, St. Agnes and St. Barbara. The background to each figure is in the form of a dossal, upheld by an angel on a panel painted with floral devices. In the lower panels in the central portion of the screen are representations of the twelve apostles, in the following order, with their names written in Gothic characters accompanying each.

Fig. 162.
UFFORD, SUFFOLK, THE PAINTED ROOF.

North side of doorway. ↑	SANCTE SYMON (emblem : a fish).	St. Simon.
	SANCTE THOMA (emblem : spear).	St. Thomas.
	BARTHOLOMEE SANCTE (knife and book).	St. Bartholomew.
	SANCTE IACOBE (pilgrim's staff and book).	St. James the Greater.
	SANCTE ANDEA (cross and pouch at his girdle).	St. Andrew.
↓	PETRE (keys and book).	St. Peter.

NAVE ← — *Here is the Chancel opening* — → + EAST END CHANCEL

See photo detail of figures.	SCE PAULE (sword and book).	St. Paul.
	SCE JOHES (chalice and dragon).	St. John.
	SCE PHILIPPE (basket of loaves).	St. Philip.
	SCE JACOBE (fuller's club).	St. James the Less.
	SCE JUDE (boat).	St. Jude.
	SCE MATTHEE (sword).	St. Matthew.

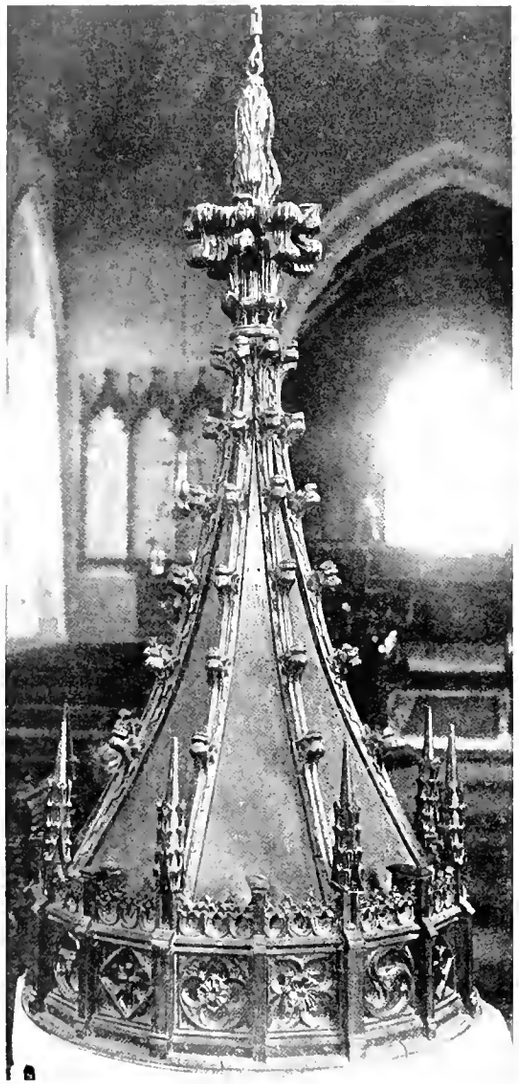


Fig. 163.
ASHBOCKING, SUFFOLK, FONT COVER.

Fig. 164.
PILTON, DEVON, FONT COVER AND CANOPY.

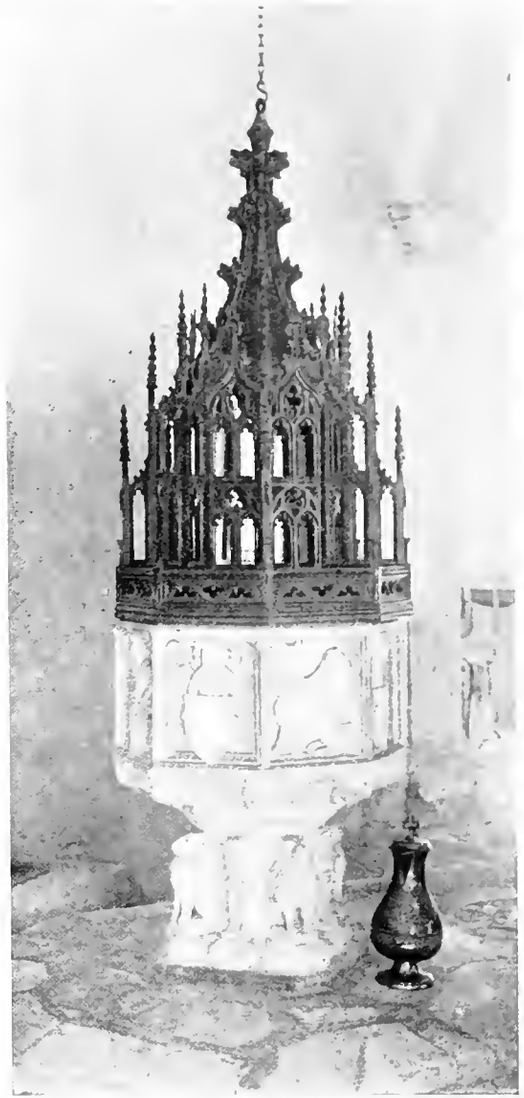


Fig. 165.
BARKING, SUFFOLK, FONT COVER.

The retable to the South Altar, Fig. 115 (Chapel of our Lady), depicts saintly motherhood. St. Salome with SS. James and John, the Virgin Mary with the Holy Child, St. Mary Cleophas with her four sons, James, Joses, Simon and Jude, and St. Margaret, all with angels above supporting flowered dossals. On the parclose screens the outer sides are painted with saints and fathers, the two most masterly paintings being St. Michael on the South, Fig. 117, and St. George on the North.

The detail of the paintings of the twelve apostles, six of which are shown in Fig. 113, are both choice and curious. The under robes are gilded and outlined in black, dark brown and red. The patterning of these robes is an instance of the love of the early painters for quaint conceits in the introduction of figures of beasts or birds into their floral or conventional ornament. An example of this can be seen in the robe of St. Simon on the extreme left. The backgrounds are of dark green and red, with floral diaper patterns. The small flowers introduced everywhere, on the mouldings and the panels of the vaulting, are faithful representations of the wild blossoms of the locality.

Though sadly mutilated, the screen at Southwold, Fig. 119, presents, even in its present condition, a good example of the refined design and skilful construction of the mediæval woodworker, and the taste in painted decoration and gesso work of the artist craftsman. It shows, also, the high level to which these arts attained in the late fifteenth century. It extends the whole width of the Church at the first column of the nave arcade, forming chapels to the North and South aisles, these being partitioned from the chancel by elaborate canopied parclose screens of which one is shown in Fig. 120. The portion spanning the nave is somewhat higher than that of the aisles, and is of very graceful proportions, the detail of the base panelling, and applied mullions ornamented with diagonal pinnacles, richly moulded and capped, being extremely fine. The groining of the destroyed loft, judging by the delicate beauty of the fragments of the pierced vaultings with their carved finials, was probably of similar form to that at Ranworth. The fragment of the groining, which is still attached to the head of the screen, undoubtedly formed part of the loft front, which was evidently designed with a series of vaulted niches, probably decorated with floral forms, and the panels with figures of saints.

The decoration of the chancel screen is much richer than in those of the aisles, which, though still of great beauty, are less ornate, and comparatively quiet in tone. The whole of the wainscotting, Figs. 121 and 122, is filled with painted figures, drawn with a fine spirit and sense of decoration. Those on the principal part of the screen, representing the twelve apostles, are painted against a dado of beautifully modelled and gilt

gesso diapers, the little patterns being formed of the vine leaf and fruit in an ogee and diamond in alternate panels. The cresting to the dado consists of delicate traceried forms of varying designs. The colouring of the panelled and pierced base is a combination of red, blue, green and gold, arranged in beautiful and harmonious counterchange, a figure having a green or blue robe being against an upper background of red and vice versa (e.g. St. Philip has a red cloak, blue background behind nimbus, red behind tracery above and red at the base. The next panel is occupied by St. Matthew who wears a purple robe, with red behind the nimbus, dark blue behind the tracery above, and blue at the base). The gold under-robes of the figures, in the same manner as at Ranworth, are painted with rich designs in black and red, after the style of the elaborate fabrics of the period. These coloured robes are embroidered with patterned borders and are finished with decorated collars and gold and jewelled clasps.

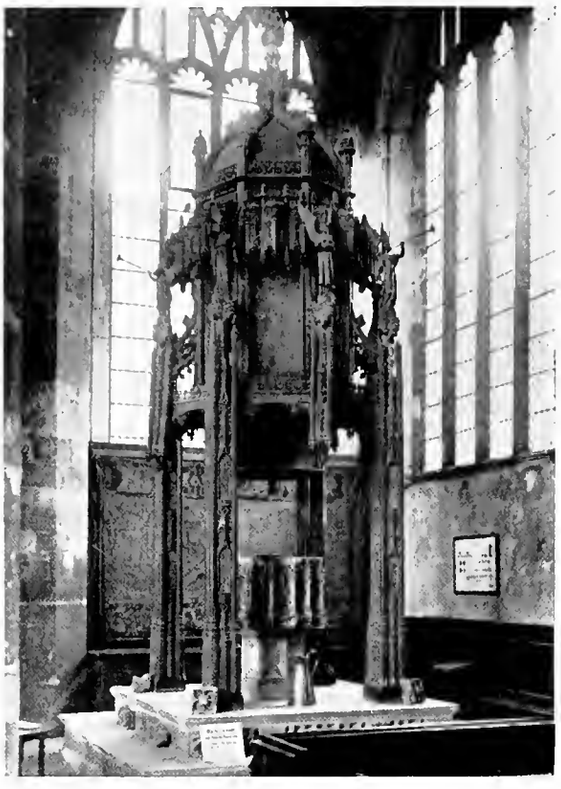


Fig. 166.
ST. PETER MANCROFT, NORWICH, FONT COVER.
Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 167.
SWIMBRIDGE, DEVON, FONT COVER.
Early sixteenth century.

The paintings, as far as can be ascertained in their defaced condition, are as follows :—

North Side (*Fig.* 121.)

1. St. Philip, cross, staff and basket of loaves.
2. St. Matthew holding a sword.
3. St. James the Less, holding a club.

(*Fig.* 122.)

St. James the Less repeated in this illustration.

4. St. Thomas, holding spear and book.
5. St. Andrew, with cross (saltire) and book.

(*The illustrations do not show the following.*)

6. St. Peter with keys.

WEST ← *Chancel Opening* → EAST

7. St. Paul, with sword and book.
8. St. John, holding chalice with dragon issuing from it.
9. St. James the Great, with staff.
10. St. Bartholomew, with knife and book.
11. St. Jude, boat in left hand ; in right, compass and square.
12. St. Simon, spear and oar.

On the Screen across the N. aisle.

THE HEAVENLY HIERARCHY.

On the Screen across the S. aisle.

David, Amos, Isaiah, Jonah, Ezekiel, Moses, Elias, Jeremiah, Nahum, Hosea, Baruch.

Fig. 168.

ST. MICHAEL-AT-PLEA, NORWICH, THE POST-REFORMATION TYPE OF FONT COVER.

Early seventeenth century.

Of the enrichments of the mouldings the wave-design is again much in evidence, showing gold stencilled flowers on the black or dark green undulations, and the wild pink rose on the white. A barber's-pole pattern in a running chequer of red and black, a red member with a little flower at intervals in gold, and a gold bead decorated with a twisted gilt gesso pattern, are all introduced with beautiful effect. In the hollows surrounding the panels, on the sides of the buttresses, and running up the tracery, as at Ranworth, are little flower-forms upon a white ground ; blue with warm brown and pink with green leaves, suggestive of the blue cornflower and the wild dog-rose, so abundant in the fields and hedgerows of the Eastern Counties.

Up the faces of the buttresses, which are richly encrusted with gesso, are the remains of Gothic forms, representations of cusped and traceried niches with

minute figures painted in black upon gold, also tabernacle work and even "windows," some with their small pieces of glass still remaining amongst the rich patterning.

The following extract from Dowsing's Journal, A.D. 1643, gives a terse account of the destruction which took place in this fine East Anglian Church.

"Southwold, April the 8th. We brake down one hundred and thirty superstitious pictures. St. Andrew and four crosses on the four corners of the vestry; and gave orders to take down thirteen cherubims, and to take down twenty angels, and to take down the cover of the font."[1]

Of beautiful examples of vaulted screens, perhaps that at Bramfield, Figs. 123 to 127, is one of the best preserved. It was originally designed with parochial altars to the two bays at the north and south as at Ranworth, but these have disappeared. Of the destroyed rood-loft there is no pictorial record, but this must have been of elegant pendentive design and exquisite proportions, and was probably enriched with paintings. The screen consists of ten bays, its mullions springing into a beautiful lierne vaulting, Fig. 126, and forming cruciform panels elaborately cusped. The predominating tone is a rich blue, relieved with white and gold. The little flowers painted in sprays along the mouldings and groining are exquisite in drawing and full of life, and in each panel of the vaulting is depicted, upon the blue background, a tiny angel in gold, with detail delicately drawn in black. Of the lower portion of the screen, the mouldings of the transom, Fig. 127, are especially rich, and are encrusted with fine gilt gesso decoration, painted with dainty floral forms upon dark red and white grounds, and a pattern of gold fleurs-de-lys on blue. The buttresses to the mullions are also adorned with beautiful tracery pattern in gold gesso. The panels of the wainscotting have suffered in places from purposed defacement, but the figures of the Evangelists and St. Mary, with their rich gesso background, which are in fair preservation, show the fine quality of the painting. On a dado behind the figures, the names of the saints are decoratively inscribed. The tracery is gilt on its fillets and crockettings, the hollows red and blue in alternate bays, and ornamented with tiny gilt flowers.

Of the saints pictured on the panels, such as are still recognisable are given on page 162.

[1] The significance of this will be noted later in this chapter.

Fig. 169

BOVEY TRACEY, DEVON, PULPIT

Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 170

COCKINGTON, DEVON, PULPIT.

Early sixteenth century.

Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photos.

BRAMFIELD SCREEN.

North Side.

? (Effaced).
? (Effaced).
St. Mark.
St. Matthew.

WEST ← — *Chancel opening.* — → EAST END CHANCEL

South Side.

St. Luke.
St. John.
St. Mary Magdalene.
? (Effaced).

Fig. 171.
KENTON, DEVON, PULPIT.
Late fifteenth century.
Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

That Bramfield Church was most lavishly decorated in colour there is no doubt, and another extract from Dowsing's Journal of 1643, shows the havoc wrought by Puritan vandals.

"April 7th, 1643. Twenty-four superstitious pictures, one crucifix, and picture of Christ and twelve angels on the roof (rood), and divers Jesus's in capital letters (IHS) and the steps of the Altars to be levelled by Sir Robert Brook."[1]

At Yaxley, Figs. 128 and 129, the destroyed loft-vaulting reveals the construction, this screen having been originally of the double-sided groined type. The tracery has lost its ogees, niche bases and canopies, but some idea of the wealth of ornament which existed may be gained from the elaborate head to the opening and the tracery of the wainscotting below. The third panel from the left, Fig. 129, shows the

[1] Suckling, "*History of Suffolk*."

Fig. 172.
KENTON, DEVON, DETAIL OF PULPIT.
Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

only remaining ogee which possesses the original rich applied crocketting. Although this screen has suffered so severely, much of its painted and gilt decoration clings to it. The buttresses which exist upon some of the mullions still show traces of having been once richly ornamented. The gilt gesso dados behind the figures in the panels are reminiscent of Southwold and Bramfield, as is also the delicate treatment of the little sprays of flowers in the wavy design upon the mouldings. The painting of the figure subjects shows refined taste, in drawing and pattern enrichment, and in spite of much obliteration, there is sufficient of the work remaining to enable one to appreciate its fine spirit. The figure of St. Mary Magdalene is shown here in an embroidered and scalloped stomacher ; she holds a richly adorned pot of ointment in one hand, while with the other she clasps the jewelled lid. The other figures on the panels are SS. Ursula, Catherine, Barbara, Dorothy and Cecilia.

At Ludham, in Norfolk, Fig. 130, the screen (dated 1493) is of fine design, rich in detail, and aglow with gold and colour. It has, in common with all these East Anglian screens, suffered from ill-usage and neglect. The cill is almost entirely perished, and the vaulted loft is missing. The structure, measuring about $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet across and nearly $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, is divided into eight equally spaced bays, the chancel opening being, as usual, formed of two of these. The tracery is composed of simple crocketted ogees and rich cusping. The mullions are supported by pierced buttresses enriched with recessed panels delicately cusped. The carving of the tracery in the wainscotting of the screen is of fine design and workmanship, but unfortunately the ornament and crocketting on the ogee-pinnacled canopies of the panels have disappeared, together with the finials of the intermediate buttresses.

The figures are extremely decorative in composition, finely drawn and coloured. They are represented in dignified and natural positions, and yet full of the mediæval grace and charm. The inscriptions of the names of the saints in decorative black lettering are at the base of each panel, and from left to right are represented SS. Mary Magdalene, Stephen and Edmund, then follows Henry VI, succeeded by four fathers of the Church, SS. Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory, and SS. Edward the Confessor, Walstan, Lawrence and Apollonia fill the remaining spaces. The background behind the traceried heads of the panels is painted in blue with gold decoration, while below is a patterning of red and green alternately. The general impression given by the glorious colour-scheme of the whole is a rich effect of red and gold. In the beautiful foliated motif of the running leaf which decorates the moulded transom is an inscription which ends, "made in the yere of ower Lord God MCCCCLXXXXIII."

The West-country screens are, as a rule, not so lofty as those of East Anglia, and the proportions are generally heavier. Carving details are usually very elaborate with infinite variety in the use of vine-trails and other Gothic ornaments in frames, cornices and vaultings, as at Atherington, Figs. 132 to 135. This is a magnificent screen, with its canopied and vaulted rood-loft practically intact. The presence of the sixteenth century is evident in the Renaissance ornament which fills the spandrels of the vaulting, Fig. 132. The influence of the Renaissance was felt very early in Devonshire, although Gothic details persist for many years in clerical woodwork. There is curiously little influence from other counties to be found in this Devonshire woodwork. It is rich, but the fact that it is recognisable in an unmistakable way shows that the variety of the Norfolk or Suffolk work is lacking. Thus the two screen doors, Fig. 136, said to have come from a former Bishop's Palace at Exeter, but, obviously, belonging to a church

screen, do not need any reference to a place of origin to stamp them as Devonshire work. A comparison of this illustration with the Atherington screen, Fig. 133, will show almost an identity of design in the two examples. It is usual to describe the later Gothic as depraved, and it certainly loses in dignity as it advances in intricacy, but technical skill of the highest order can be seen in the gorgeous bressummers with their bewildering wealth of carving, as at Atherington, Fig. 134, Chulmleigh, Fig. 142, Coldridge, Fig. 143, Lapford, Fig. 145, and Swimbridge, Figs. 149 and 150. At the same time, the tendency towards monotony, in these richly carved beams, will be noticed. The creation of this elaborate work must have been restricted to a very narrow locality ; probably in the neighbourhood of Exeter. Apart from their almost barbaric splendour, these screens frequently impress by their enormous size. At Bovey Tracey, Fig. 138, Halberton, Fig. 139, Chulmleigh, Fig. 140, Lapford, Fig. 144, Swimbridge, Fig. 147, and elsewhere, they stretch across the whole width of nave and aisles. In lofts enriched with tabernacle or niched work, as at Atherington, Fig. 135, these Devonshire screens must have been especially rich, although only a few have survived. Atherington is a very elaborate example, richly carved on both east and west sides, although the latter is, by far, the most ornate.

Among the less pretentious examples is the parclose screen at Pilton, Fig. 137, again with the same resemblance in the circular-headed tracery to Fig. 136. This is the arch-headed type of the West, in square framings with foliated spandrels in the corners.

The painted decoration of the Western screens is usually broader in technique than in those of the East, the figures executed with less

Fig. 173.
SOUTH BURLINGHAM, NORFOLK, DECORATED PULPIT.
Mid-fifteenth century.

attention to small detail. Some border on the crude, but in others, as at Ashton, Ugborough, Chudleigh, Fig. 108, and Bradninch, Fig. 109, the draughtsmanship and execution is much more powerful, and such figures as are depicted in the costume of their time are particularly interesting.

At Bovey Tracey, Fig. 138, and Halberton, Fig. 139, the screens stretch right across the church, passing under the first arches of the north and south aisles. At Halberton there are little tabernacled shrines which mask the aisle columns. This was a favourite device in Devonshire churches, and is rarely, if ever, found elsewhere.

It is difficult to imagine how much of the appearance of these great screens must have been marred by the removal of their rood-lofts. At Chulmleigh, for example, Fig. 140, the effect of this additional height, especially if the loft front was elaborately carved, as it would have been, must have been exceedingly striking.

The vaultings of these Devonshire screens differ greatly from those of East Anglia. The stonemason tradition is very pronounced in Fig. 142, with its lierne ribs, bossed on their intersections and pierced with tracery in the panels. At Coldridge, Fig. 143, this tracery is solid but the feeling of stone is still present. At Lapford, Figs. 144, 145 and 146, Renaissance ornament is introduced into these groined spandrels in similar manner to those at Atherington. This screen is planted clear from the aisle columns, and reaches from the wall of the north aisle to that of the south in the Devonshire manner. Swimbridge, close by, has a very similar screen, although possibly somewhat earlier, but on the evidence of such details as the seaweed ornament of its base, Fig. 148, it may easily have been designed by the same hands. Unfortunately, many of these fine screens have been locally, and very ignorantly restored. Halberton is an instance of this, with the result of an incongruous jumble of parts patched together.

That these rich screens were further elaborated with colours, in their original state, is unquestionable. Greens and reds appear to have been largely used, but gold, in any amount, was exceptional. Devonshire was not a rich county in the fifteenth century, compared with Norfolk and Suffolk, and the decoration of the rood-screen in the parish church was usually maintained by gifts of money from the charitable or the devout, usually in the form of bequests. Probably for this reason, gold, which is so general in East Anglian screens, is so infrequent in those of Devonshire.

The Renaissance of Italy intrudes itself into Church woodwork in the first years of the sixteenth century, but in a manner somewhat different from its secular introduction. In much the same way as with a parasitic growth on a noble tree, which gains in strength until the tree eventually perishes, so the Renaissance grafts itself on the Gothic, and

finally submerges it. It begins with motives, introduced sparingly and with taste, as in the panels of the Atherington vaulting, but later it begins to debase the character of the tracery, which loses its former logical basis of design and degenerates into meaningless patterns, as at Coldridge, Fig. 151. In this later work the earlier turned shafts recur, but these are now spiral-fluted and twisted. At Brushford, in Somerset, Fig. 152, the tracery is cut from the solid and merely dowelled on to the spiral-turned shafts. In this screen the debasing of the tracery forms can be noticed very clearly. The solid panels of the base have the linen-fold pattern, which is such a sure indication of the sixteenth century.

In some instances, however, the Renaissance is used with discretion and taste. In the gallery at Tawstock, Fig. 153, for example, the ornament has still the Gothic character in vine-trails and grapes, and at Holbeton, Figs. 154 to 156, the tracery is filled with carved work of extraordinary richness, Gothic in character but used in a Renaissance manner. The ornament of the beam, Fig. 155, as a foil, is pure Renaissance, yet the association of the two does not appear to be incongruous, and the effect of the whole screen is extremely rich. Such experiments, however, were fatal to the Gothic as an ecclesiastical style, the greater in proportion to their success.

This final phase of the Gothic produced some very noteworthy results, however, in spite of the decline of the former fine traditions. The Spring Pew at Lavenham, Fig. 157, and the Oxford Pew in the same Church, Fig. 158, are of this late style, but the *flair* for the Gothic is not extinguished so soon in East Anglia as in the West. There is a loss in meaning and a lack of appreciation of material, however,

Fig. 174.
E. DOWN, DEVON, FONT PEDESTAL.
Sixteenth century.
Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

even more evident in the Spring Pew than in other work of the same date. There is no doubt as to the material of which the early fifteenth-century Gothic is constructed. It is unmistakably of stone or wood. Even in the earlier examples, where the woodworker is just emancipating himself from the stonemason's traditions, there is a sturdy vigour in his conceptions, even when accompanied by an absence of refinement in his details and construction. Unfortunately, it is rare to find an artistic tendency stopping short at the logical. If proportions become refined, they do not rest until they reach such a stage of fragility as to be inartistic. An erection, whether of wood or stone may be of ample strength, but if it appear inadequate neither the eye nor the mind is satisfied. The material must also be equally frank. Construct a bridge of steel and grain it to look like wood, and it will appear unsafe, and its appearance will be false to the eye. Similarly, the early Gothic woodwork, apart from its massive dignity and even grandeur, is not wholly satisfactory ; it is too much like stonework, which has, by accident, been made from timber. It is the Gothic woodwork of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century which fulfils best, both artistic and constructional demands. It is a style which can become debased very easily, especially in wood. Tracery is only pierced fretwork, but when cut by the carver it offers, in many cases, a suggestion of construction which it does not really possess. This Lavenham Spring Pew is, perhaps, one of the most ornate expressions of the later Gothic, yet one has the feeling that it is not woodwork but confectionery. The screens which we have just considered are marred by the absence of their lofts. The result is that vaulting which must suggest the carrying of a superimposed mass, is now inoperative and useless. That, however, is not a defect of the screens, but of the vandals who broke down their lofts and mutilated the artistic effect which they formerly possessed. In the Spring Pew, there is vaulting which carries nothing and never has, and tracery which is mere tortured filigree work. The same may be said of the Oxford Pew, of about the same date, where posts support nothing and where Renaissance ornament is employed to masquerade as tracery.

The vast expanse of a Cathedral carries off superabundant ornament in stone or wood by overpowering it by sheer height and size. It becomes mere lacework in comparison, and one does not expect lace to possess constructional stability, such as will satisfy eye and mind. Thus at Chester the stall canopies possess a delicacy in comparison with the size of the choir itself which would atone for many constructional faults even were they present. At Westminster, on the other hand, the effect is purely that of the work of a pastry cook rather than of a woodworker. It may be worth while to turn back to the grand stall canopies of Winchester, Fig. 93, and to

compare them with those of Westminster Abbey, Fig. 159. The latter are truly wonderful, as examples of what was—and should not have been done,—in wood.

In offering a criticism of much of this abnormally delicate woodwork of the later fifteenth century, considerable allowance must be made for the absence of the gilding and colouring where such originally existed. This is very necessary in the case of such works as the great font cover of Ufford, Figs. 160 and 161, one of the most remarkable examples of the later Gothic woodwork in England, and certainly the largest and the most ornate of the wooden font covers made at this period. It is octagonal on plan, and with its amazing intricacy of pinnacles and niches, it rich carving of vaulted base and cornice, is a magnificent production of the fifteenth-century woodworker. It has lost its decorative painting and has been much restored. With its original colour and gilding it must have been a superb ornament to the church. The painted roof above it is shown, in better detail, in Fig. 162.

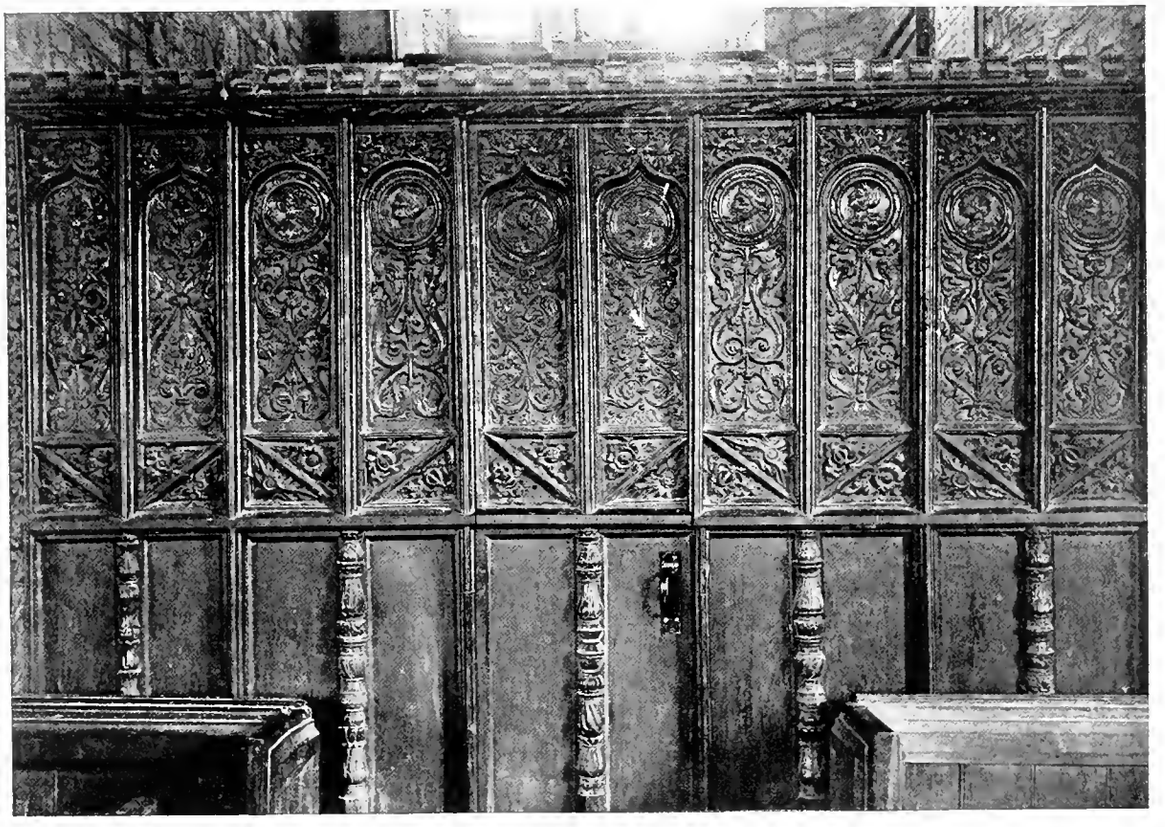


Fig. 175.
WARKLEIGH, DEVON, RENAISSANCE SCREEN.
Early sixteenth century.
Mr. Fredk. Sumner, Photo.

Decoration in colours and gold must have been a necessary part of a font cover such as this. Constructed of wood, visible as such to the eye at a moment's glance, it appears to be impossibly fragile. The fact that it is telescopic further intensifies this impression. Constructed of metal, this delicacy of ornament would be justified to the observer. In wood, painted and gilded, it would acquire an appearance of strength in its parts, even although such covering were somewhat in the nature of a deception; an artistic sham. The painting of the roof above is merely decorative; applied to harmonise the timbers with the font cover suspended below. The cover depends, at its apex, from an effigy of the heraldic pelican, the symbol of the Redemption, which we shall see in a later chapter, in the panel of a pulpit in Aldington Church in Kent.

Niches are provided in each tier, the lower series intended to hold the effigies of saints, but these have disappeared, long since. The cover has been scraped and scoured until the merest vestiges of its original colouring remain, but of the four original panels which exist, two have remnants of the free floral designs in colour and gold which must have been applied to the entire cover. In the upper portions of these panels are the remains of gilded gesso backgrounds, patterned with incised and dotted diapers. The floral dado with a gold ground above, behind each effigy which formerly stood in the niches, must have made a rich and effective setting to the figures.

The second and third tiers of these tabernacles also exhibit evidences of having contained images, originally. The backgrounds of the lower series are in blue and red counterchange; in the upper tier red and green is used; the red being above the blue of the lower series. All the canopies to these niches were groined in gold with panels of blue and with little gilt flowers in the centre. The buttresses, pinnacles, tracery and other tabernacle-work were in gold ground with decoration of white, green and red. The pelican was in blue and gold with traces of black and white. Of this original colouring, which must have made this Ufford font cover such an exceptional example, even of its time, only the merest indications remain.

The font has always been an object of importance and reverence in the history of the Christian religion. Constructed of stone, in nearly every case (although lead fonts are not unknown, as, for example, the one in Brookland Church in Kent), many have persisted from Saxon times, and possibly from still earlier periods. The covers, where such existed, were usually made from wood, and have nearly all perished, either with time, or at the hands of iconoclasts.[1] At no period, however, was the destruction of font covers authorised, and there are numerous ordinances from Bishops ordering them to be safe-

[1] See Dowsing's Journal in relation to the destruction at Bramfield.

guarded and provided with locks or similar security. The cover, to protect the font containing the holy water, was almost of as great an importance as the font itself. These covers vary, in different churches and districts, from the elaborate example at Ufford to the mere disc of wood. So many have perished, however, that the latter may be subsequent replacements, and it is possible that each parish church, originally, was provided with a font cover of some degree of elaboration. The usual form was pyramidal, with moulded ribs at the angles, which developed by the addition of a deep moulded or carved base. From this stage the font cover evolved by the addition of crocketting to the ribs, as at Ashbocking, Fig. 163, and Pilton, Fig. 164. The next stage was the deepening of the cover below the pyramid and the introduction of pinnacles and traceried panels, as at Barking, Fig. 165, finally culminating in magnificent covers such as at Ufford.

The later development of the font cover is a canopy supported on posts at the corners, as at St. Peter Mancroft, Fig. 166, instead of being suspended from the roof. The lower stage, which forms the font lid, telescopes into the dome. Unfortunately,

Fig. 176.
CARTMEL PRIORY, LANCS., STALL CANOPIES.
Early seventeenth century.

only the posts and the flat canopy are original; the dome with its niches are restoration. At Trunch in the same county, is another example of this kind, unrestored but very incomplete.

At Swimbridge, Fig. 167, there is a different development, the cover being formed as an octagonal-framed casing to the font, with doors above which open, for access to the font itself. The ornament is well carved, in the Renaissance manner, which indicates the early years of the sixteenth century.

In St. Michael-at-Plea is the little classical cover, Fig. 168, showing the decline in size and importance which occurred after the Reformation. It demonstrates, also, the complete departure from the Gothic traditions at this date. It is possible that this stone font originally possessed a rich cover, which has disappeared and been replaced by the present one. The following extract from Bloomfield's History of Norfolk (1745) is curious, and must refer to this font either without a cover, or with one of a totally different fashion, although "sitting on the font" (eight persons, be it remembered) must have meant sitting on the steps below it. In any case the present cover could not have existed.

"1504. Alderman Thomas Bewfield was buried by the font in the Church of St. Michael-at-Plea, Norwich, and founded a mass for eight years, every working day at 8 o'clock in the morning, and his executors were to find eight poor men and women daily to attend it and *sit on the font and pray for his and his friends' souls*, and each to have fourpence every Saturday.

Pulpits of the fifteenth century, of which comparatively few examples exist, were generally polygonal on plan, and constructed of two curbs, an upper and a lower, formed of several sections, tenoned or "fingered" together at points between the posts, and into these the angle-posts were tenoned, with the panels inserted in grooves. Where stems existed, these were formed of a post tenoned to the floor joist and braced by ribs to the curbs. The Western type as at Bovey Tracey and Cockington, Figs. 169 and 170, are heavier in design and construction than those found in the Eastern counties, and are decorated with an abundance of carved foliage, vine-trails and niche-work. At Cockington, which is the later of the two, the balusters and foliated groined heads are applied to the panels.

These Devonshire pulpits repeat the work of the screens in a great measure, which is to be expected, as in Bovey Tracey and Halberton, for example, the pulpits stand immediately in front of the screen and are almost a part of it. That these pulpits were

Fig. 177.

CARTMEL PRIORY, LANCS., CHOIR STALL CANOPIES, DETAIL.

originally painted in colours and gold is unquestionable. Bovey Tracey is bright with colour, but this is almost all of much later date. The niched figures are in plaster, but they may have been cast from lost originals. Cockington pulpit is later, of the early sixteenth century, with balusters and groined heads applied to the panels. It is peculiar in being a sept-sided polygon on plan, but with flat panels, and in being a painted pulpit at a date subsequent to the fashion for the decoration of woodwork with colours.

At Kenton, Figs. 171 and 172, the pulpit, of late-fifteenth-century work, is flamboyant, but extremely rich. It is coloured, which adds further to its ornate character. The painting has a definite significance here, beyond mere decoration. This is, in effect, a stone pulpit copied in wood, and it demands painting, either in monochrome or in colours, to complete its effect. The enlarged detail, Fig. 172, shows this carved-stone character very clearly.

The South Burlingham pulpit, Fig. 173, is a very beautiful and complete example of East Anglian colour decoration of the fifteenth century. The general effect is simple, yet rich. The colours follow the heraldic system of counterchange. The panels, with their ogival tracery and crocketted pinnacles, are in red and gilt on a green background, with sprigs of flowers in gold. The central portion of the panel, immediately beneath the cusping, is in red, with a diapered pattern of the same gold flowers. The panels are reversed in rotation, in their colour-scheme, the next having crocketting in green and gold on red. A painted ribbon threads behind the styles, just below the crocketting, and on this are inscriptions in black letters, with red initials and foliated ornaments, on a ground of white. The mouldings, between the panels and the buttresses, are decorated with a wavy design in red and white, with gold flowers on the red, and green on the white bands, in one panel, and in the next the wave is green and white, with gold and red flowers. The buttresses, above the first recessing, are decorated with gilt gesso, in diaper patterns with tiny flowers. The spandrels and the faces of all the tracery are in gold. The base has a white hollow, with green blossoms, and mouldings in red and green. The cornice has small gilt flowers in relief in the cavetto, and the castellated cresting is gilt. This pulpit is remarkable as much for its beauty as for its state of preservation.

With the introduction of the Renaissance into clerical woodwork and the final extinguishing of the Gothic, this chapter may be concluded. Examples of where the two are assorted, sometimes with notably fine results, as at Atherington and Holbeton, more often with detriment to the character of both, as at Brushford and Coldridge, have already been given. It remains only to consider, in rapid review, some examples where the Gothic

motives are comparatively negligible, and where the Renaissance has full sway. Thus in the charming gallery at Tawstock, Fig. 153, the Gothic is still present in the vine-trails which ornament the string. The fine font pedestal at East Down, Fig. 174, on the other hand, is pure Renaissance with the sumptuous carving of the West (unmistakable in its rich character) above the arches. Warkleigh, Fig. 175, has a fine screen of the same period, with elaborate carvings in the upper panels, and the alternate muntins of those below masked by ornate semi-balusters, very similar in style to the aisle-panellings in St. Vincent at Rouen, which will be illustrated in a later chapter. There is always a strong suggestion of French influence, if not of actual origin, in this later Church woodwork of the West, a character which is not nearly so evident in the secular work of the same date. Towards the close of the sixteenth century the Renaissance, where adopted for Church woodwork, loses much of this foreign element, as at Cartmel Priory, Figs. 176 and 177, where the stall canopies, superimposed on stalls of much earlier date, show how the Italian style changes in development, in the hands of the Church woodworker, in the early years of the seventeenth century. There is a strong concession to the Gothic in the vine-trails of the columns, but this became a favourite motive, even with secular work, during the earlier years of the seventeenth century, especially in Lancashire and Warwickshire. Examples will be found in the later pages of this volume.

Though carried beyond the proper scope of this chapter, which is concerned only with the Gothic, this incursion into the Renaissance period may be of service, if only in bridging from the last phase of the Gothic to the later work, and in preparing the way for the chapters which are to follow.

Chapter VII.

Timber Houses, Porches and Doors.

IF the house built of framed oak, with spaces between the timbers filled with brick "nogging" or plaster, had not been peculiar to England up to almost the end of the seventeenth century, the inclusion of woodwork in the title of this book would have necessitated some description and illustration of the timber house. Actually, "half-timber" is not only characteristically English in conception, but it exhibits great variety in type and in abnormalities of timber growth, and at the same time, owing to the nature of the materials employed, allows of rich embellishment in the way of

Fig. 178.
LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK.
The Woolhall, East Front.
Mid-fifteenth century.

moulding, carving and tracery, which the qualities of stone or brick forbid. It says much for the sturdy qualities of English oak that so many examples of work, some as early as the thirteenth century, are with us to-day. No one who has not made a diligent pilgrimage, among even tiny villages, especially in East Anglia, the Northern Welsh bordering counties, and in Somerset and Devon, and has not examined the interiors of small, and apparently insignificant churches in remote England, can have any idea of the wealth and richness in timber and woodwork which remain, from the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as priceless legacies from the mediæval carpenters of England. One is not only amazed at both the quantity and quality of such work; there is such abundance of evidence to show that much of it must have been executed as a labour of love, good-fellowship, or of reverence for things sacred. We know that the craftsmen of the one hamlet vied with those of neighbouring villages in making their parish church a monument of beauty, and in improving on existing examples, until

Fig. 179.
PAYCOCKES, COGGESHALL, ESSEX.
Late fifteenth century. Noel Buxton, Esq.

Fig. 180.

LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK.

Houses at corner of Lady Street and Water Street.
Mid-fifteenth century.

Fig. 181.

THE GUILD HALL, LAVENHAM.

Porch and projecting Bay.

Fig. 182.

THE GUILD HALL, LAVENHAM

Detail of Porch.

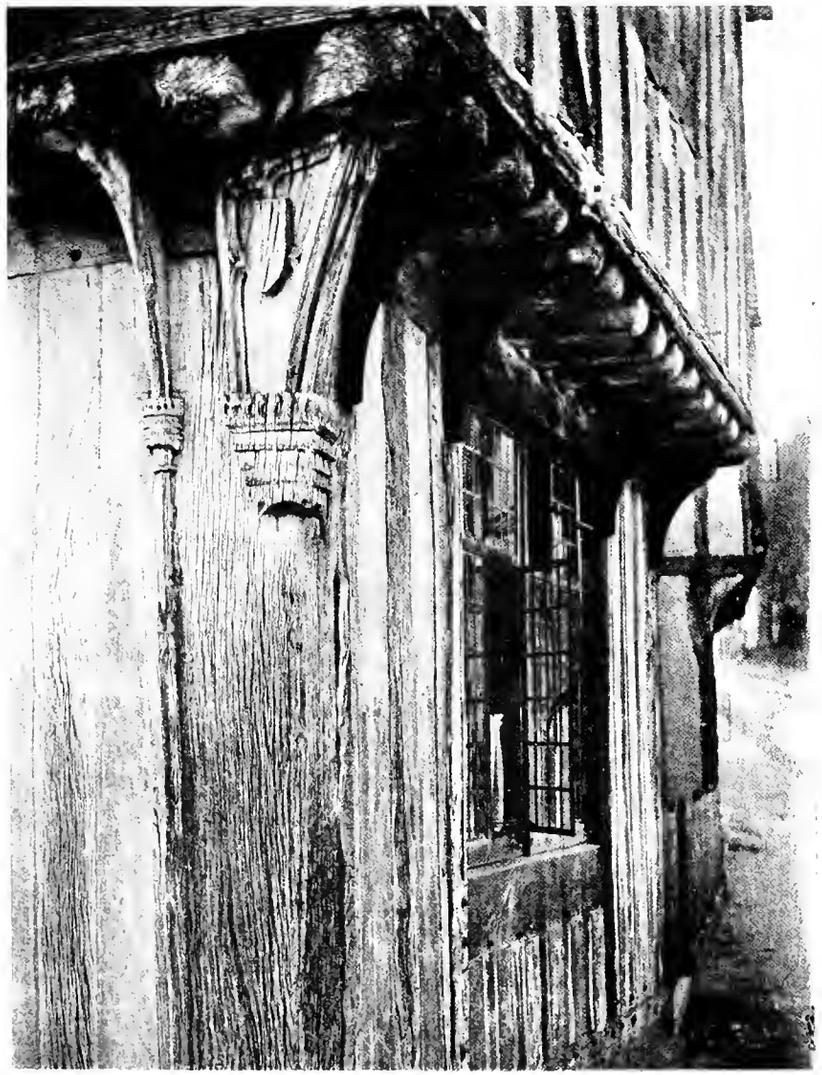


Fig. 183.
THE WOOLHALL, LAVENHAM.
Detail of Corner-post.

Fig. 184.
THE GUILD HALL, LAVENHAM.
Detail of Corner-post.

we get such triumphs of woodworking skill as the chancel screens at Bramfield, Southwold, Ludham, Ranworth, Atherington, Llananno and elsewhere. The task of the carpenter and carver being completed, they gave way to the artists, who, in turn, filled the panels with figures of saints, and who decorated each moulding-member with jewel-like colours and tiny Gothic patterns in raised and gilded gesso. "In those days the adornment of the church was a task in which all men took a pride. Each gave what he could, and the interiors were thus enriched with carved choir-stalls, stained glass windows, tapestries, lamps and chalices of chased silver, vestments and altar-cloths of needlework, and gilded and illuminated missals. Nowadays no price is too high to pay for such products of fifteenth-century craftsmanship, and happy indeed is the collector whose *flair* for the Gothic has unearthed, in some unlikely corner, a piece of work of the latteners, the luminers, the orfevers, the tapisers, the verrours or the ymagers of that golden epoch."[1]

Fig. 185.
OAK CORNER-POST.

7 ft. 3½ ins. high,
15 ins. wide across cap.
Mid-fifteenth century.

Beside these evidences of love of, or reverence for the Church, which inspired the mediæval craftsmen to give of their finest without reward, we see, in timber houses of the elaborate East-Anglian type, similar signs of work being done for the sake of the community, much of which must have been a labour of love. The chief point which strikes the student of the work of this period, is its conscientious character. Nothing is scamped; nothing left to chance. Joints are made as carefully in unseen positions as in work which is fully visible. Even the wood is sawn in the best manner, as described in the chapter on "The Early Woodworker," whether figure in the oak be desirable or not, simply from the knowledge that quartered oak is more durable than that cut across the trunk or log, in the obviously economical manner. When paint is removed from fifteenth-century work, where it has remained from the time when it was first completed, we find the ray figure in the wood, with the "splash" darkened nearly to black by the action of the lead. This oak was never intended to be left bare; yet it is prepared just as carefully as if the piece had to rely on the figure of the wood for its decorative effect.

[1] John Warrack, Introduction to "*The Cathedrals of Great Britain.*"

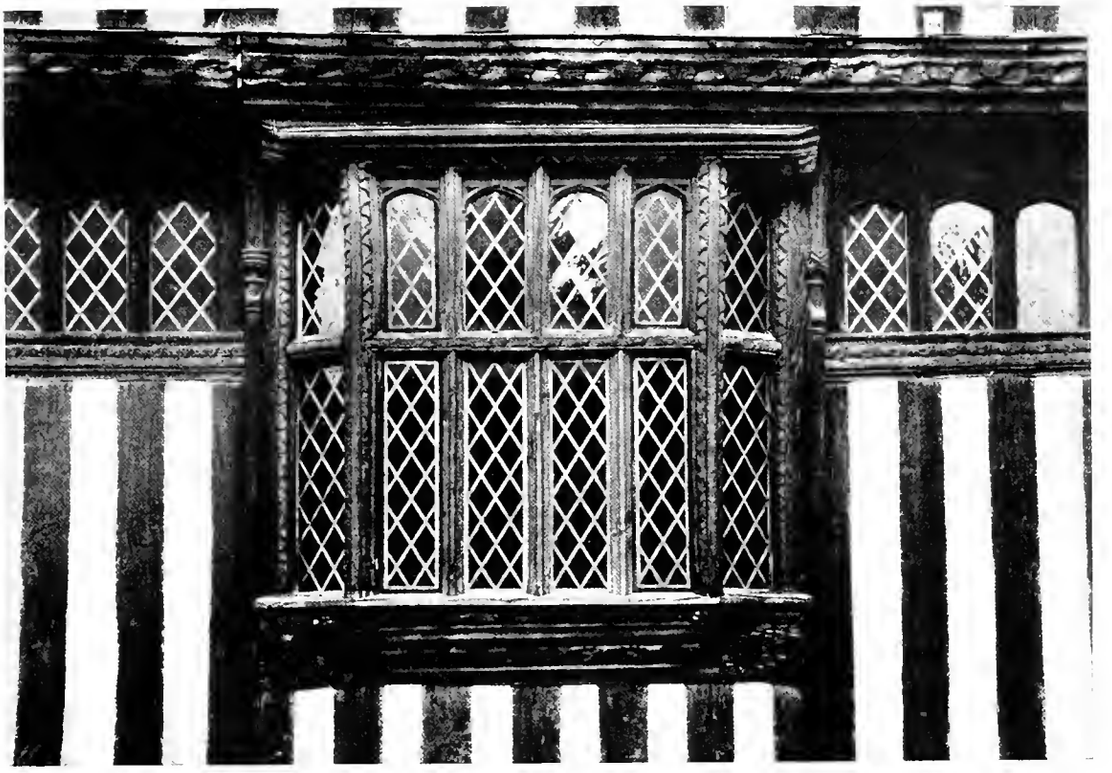


Fig. 186.

LAVENHAM GUILD HALL, BAY WINDOW.

About 1486.

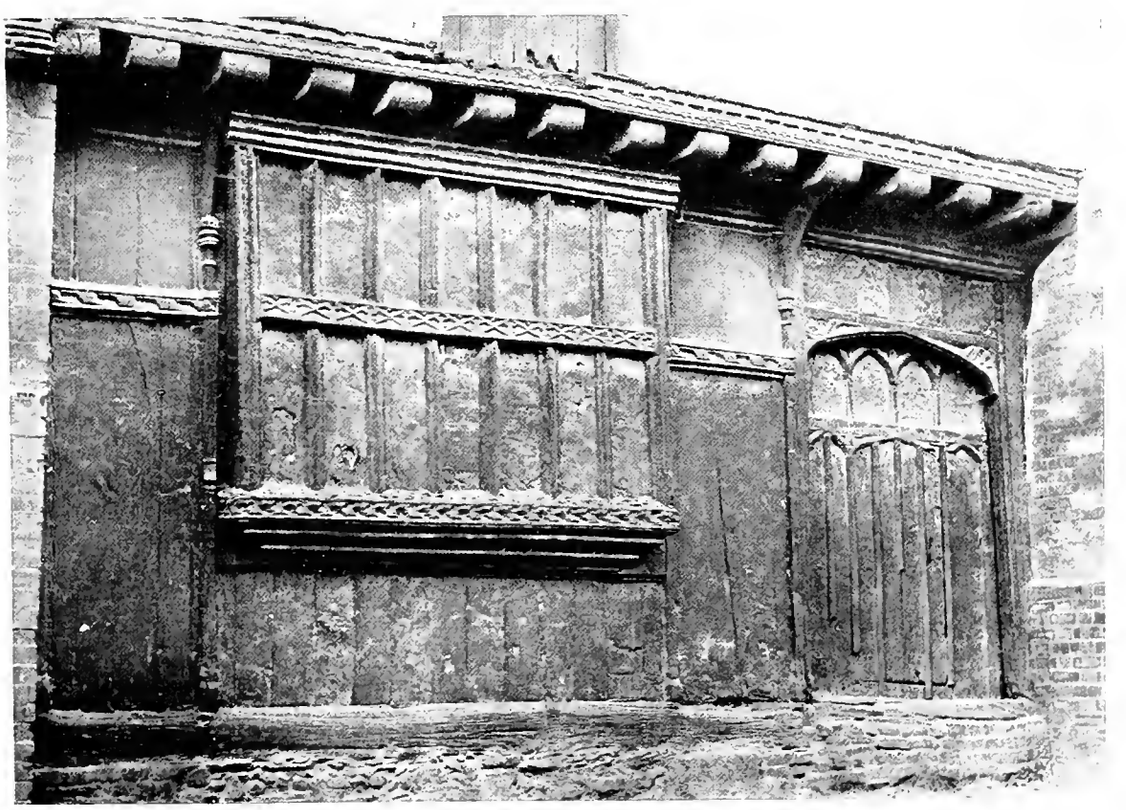
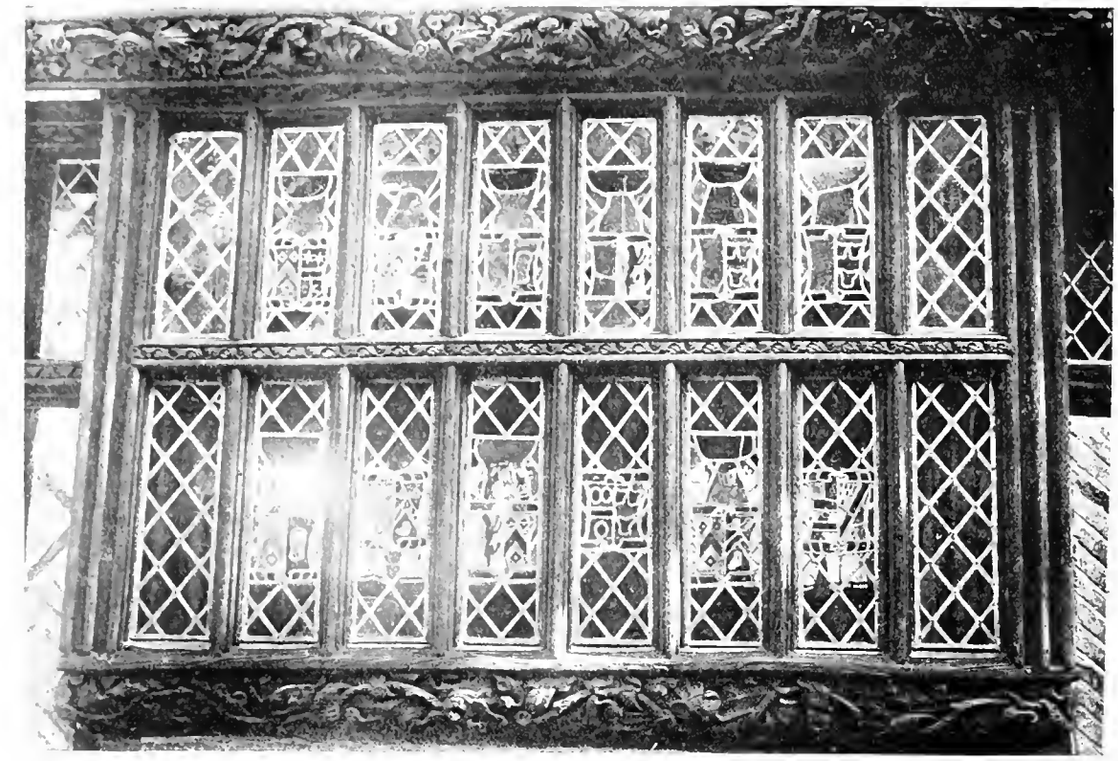
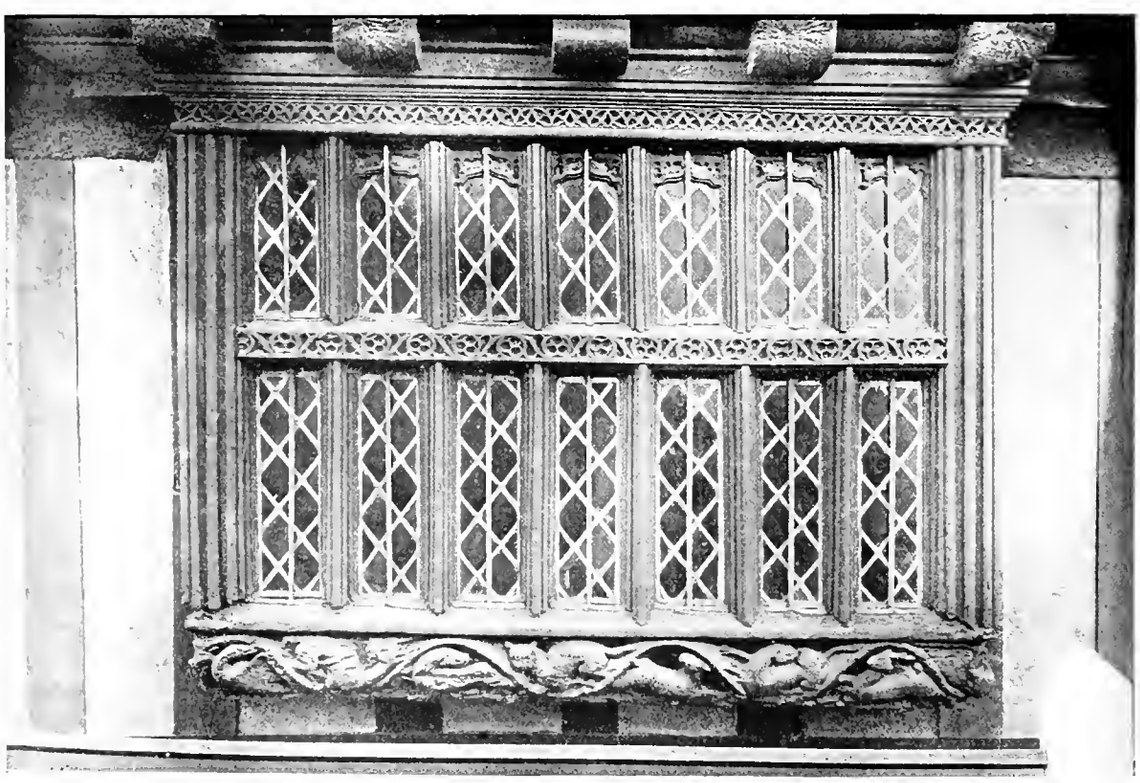


Fig. 187.

HOUSE IN LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK.

Square Bay with Mullioned Window and Entrance Door.



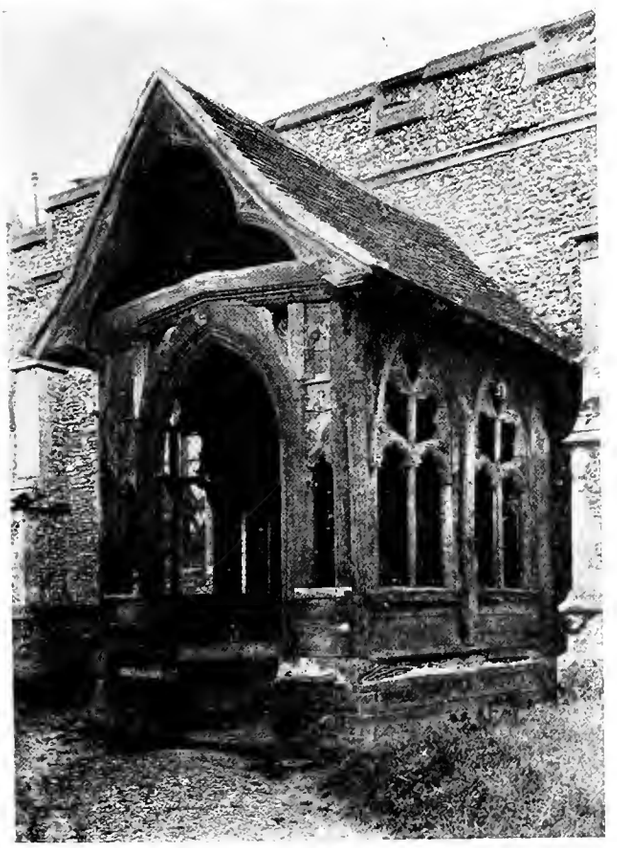


Figs. 188 and 189.

ALSTON COURT, NAYLAND, SUFFOLK.

Bay Windows. Late fifteenth century.

A. M. Fenn, Esq.



Figs. 190, 191 and 192.

BOXFORD CHURCH, SUFFOLK.

Porch of heavy timbers, with interior vaulted and ceiled; unique example in England. Saint's niche above tie-beam missing, but mortise still visible in collar-beam between trefoil of head.

Mid-fourteenth century.

Fig. 193
LITTLE CLACTON
Early fifteenth century

Fig. 194.
OFFTON-CUM-LITTLE-BRICETT
Mid-fifteenth century.

Fig. 195.
RAYDON ST. MARY.
Mid-fifteenth century.

Fig. 196.
GREAT BLAKENHAM
Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 197.

GAINSBURGH HALL, LINCOLN. THE GREAT HALL

Late fifteenth century.

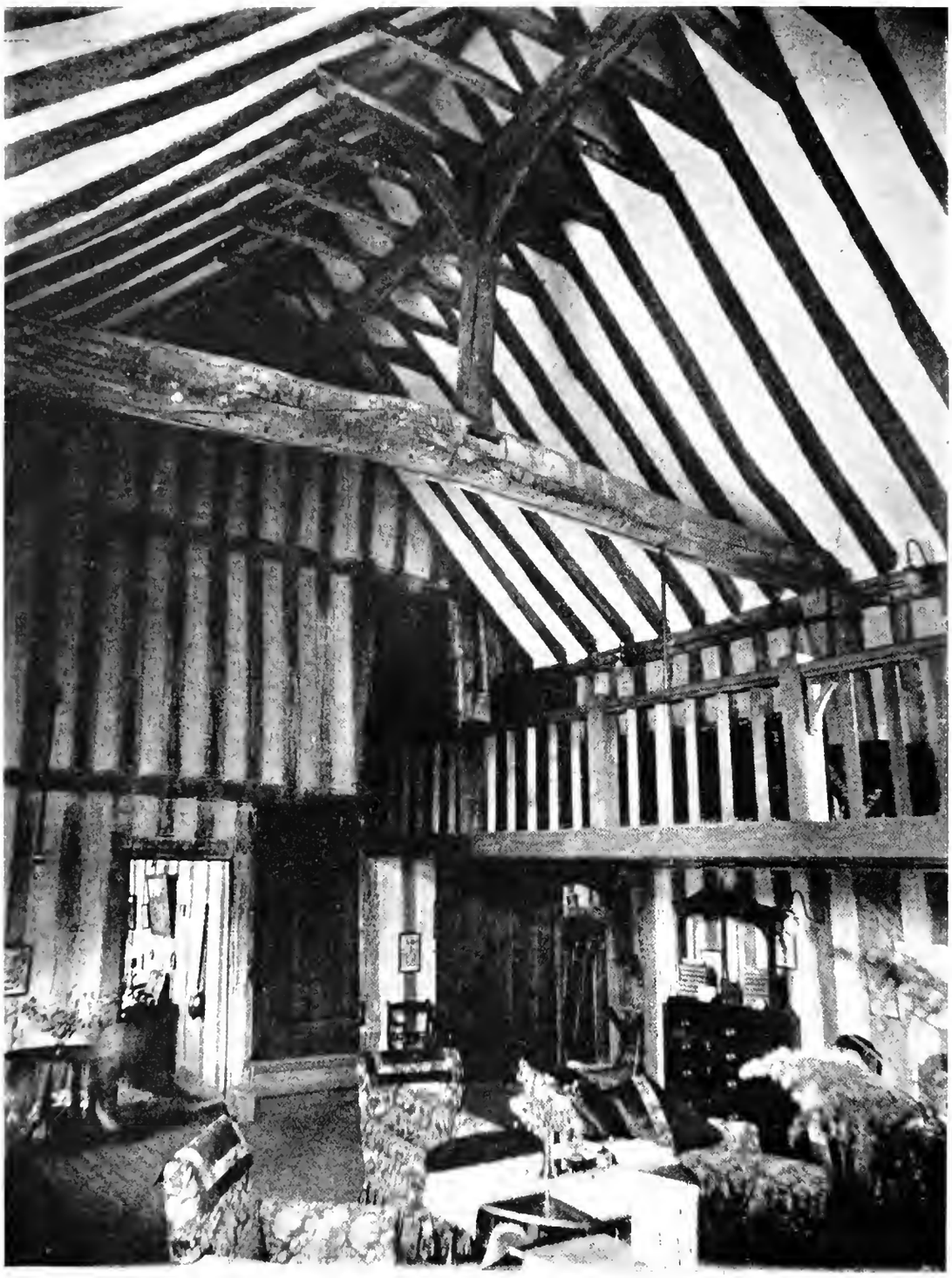


Fig. 198

LAVENHAM WOOLHALL. INTERIOR OF HALL.

See Fig. 66 showing this Hall in process of restoration.
Length, 26 ft. 2 ins.; width, 22 ft. 5 ins.
Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 199.

CARVED CEILING BEAMS FROM A HOUSE IN WATER STREET, LAVENHAM.

In the following pages, some examples of rich half-timber houses, and porches—sacred and secular—are shown. They have been chosen from hundreds of examples, each noteworthy in its way, but space considerations have forbidden more than a brief description of this fascinating branch of the woodworker's craft. Those who have read, and studied, the chapter on "Timber Roofs" will be prepared for much that is to follow in this one. The timber roof is really the upper story of a timber house, especially when it has collars without tie-beams. The vertical timbers from the eaves-level downwards, with their horizontal plates, act as buttresses to resist the outward thrust of a pitched roof, a task which, in the case of a church, is undertaken by walls of massive stone or jointed brick. The framed house is reinforced by its floor-beams and joists at the floor-levels, and is a complete unit before any filling of the cavities between the timbers is even commenced. That brick nogging stiffens the vertical studs is

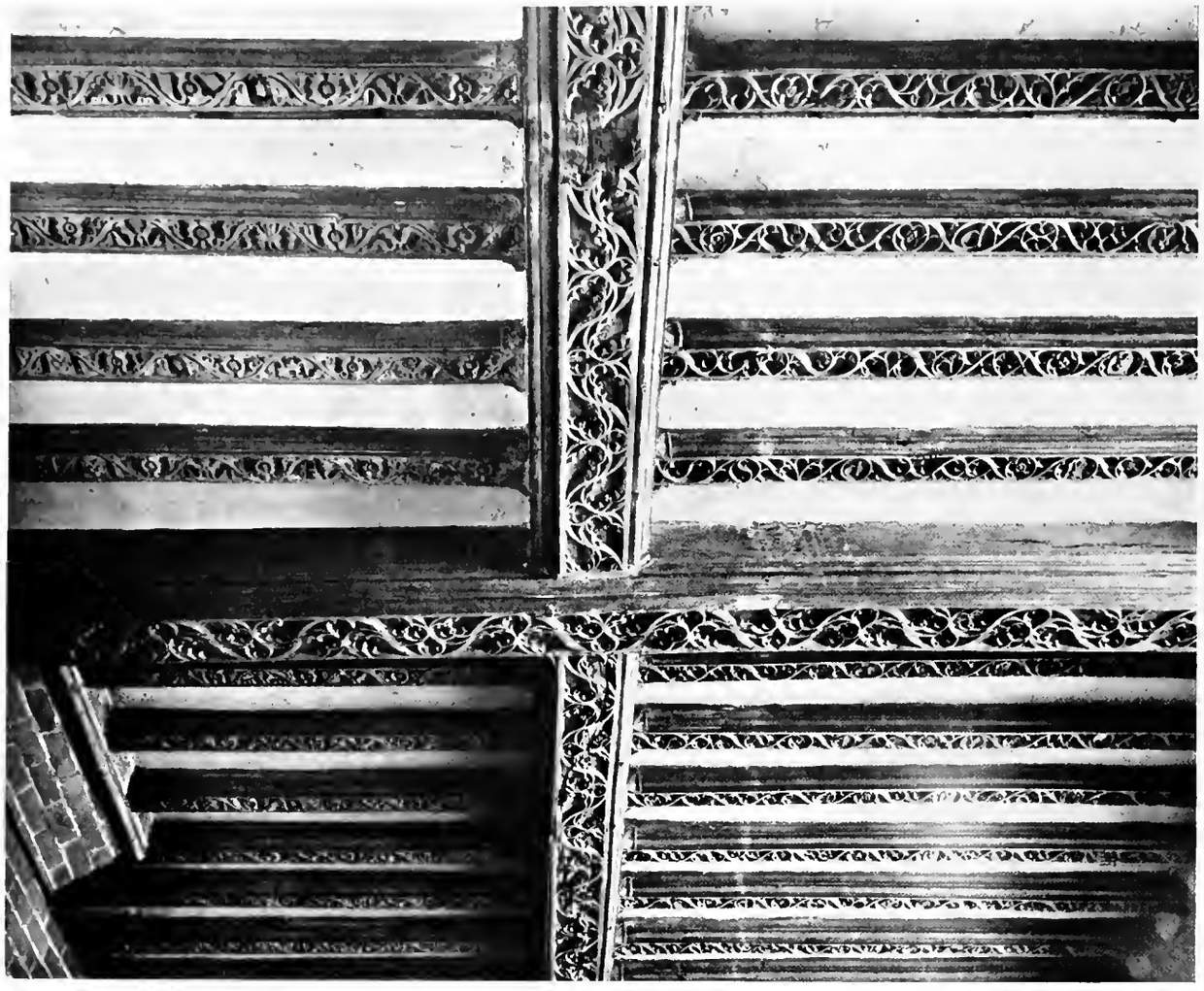


Fig. 200.

CARVED CEILING BEAMS FROM PAYCOCKES, COGGESHALL, ESSEX.

Late fifteenth century. Noel Buxton, Esq.

unquestionable, but the timber house must be of ample strength and stability without such aid.

The examples shown, in this chapter, have been especially chosen for their richness. They are, mainly, from two counties, Suffolk and Essex. They are intended to give merely an outline of a vast subject. Timber houses vary not only at distinct periods, but also in different localities. Local tree-growth had a good deal to do with their development in particular directions. A large book could be written, easily, on the subject of the English timber house, and then the available field would be, by no means, exhausted. The houses shown in the succeeding pages are exceptional, but they are

Fig. 201.
ENLARGED DETAIL OF FIG. 200.

illustrated here with a set purpose, to illustrate the decorative limits to which the timber house attained.

With the timber house, as necessary adjuncts, examples of exterior porches, doors, bay windows, and interior decorated beam-ceilings are given. Lengthy descriptions are unnecessary; the illustrations are, for the most part, self-explanatory. It must be remembered, also, that the attempt is made here, in a single chapter, to outline, in a sketchy manner, a subject which demands a far greater space than is possible in this book, for its proper elucidation. There is, therefore, no attempt at order, chronologically or otherwise; the illustrations are merely intended to show the decorative use, in building, to which oak was put in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in England.

Fig. 178 is the fine Woolhall at Lavenham, in Suffolk, which was somewhat rigorously restored in 1913. The barge-boards are missing, and the projecting bay

Fig. 202.

PAYCOCKES, COGGESHALL, ESSEX. CEILING BEAMS.

Ceiling, 18 ft. wide by 19 ft. deep. Beam, 14½ ins. by 11 ins. Joists, 7 ins. wide by 5 ins. deep.

Noel Buxton, Esq.

windows on the first floor have been cut off. Lavenham has been somewhat unfortunate in the zeal of its restorers. In spite of this, however, Lavenham Woolhall remains as some indication of the half-timber building in East Anglia of the mid-fifteenth century.

The house known as Paycockes, at Coggeshall in Essex, Fig. 179, is a much better example of judicious restoration. Originally, a fine specimen of a wealthy weaver's house of the late fifteenth century, it had been transformed into cottages, and allowed to become derelict. It was restored, a few years ago, and a considerable amount of richly carved oak was discovered hidden behind plaster. Further illustrations of the elaborate beamed ceilings in this house will be given later on in this chapter.

Fig. 180 is from Lavenham, old houses at the corner of Lady and Water Streets,

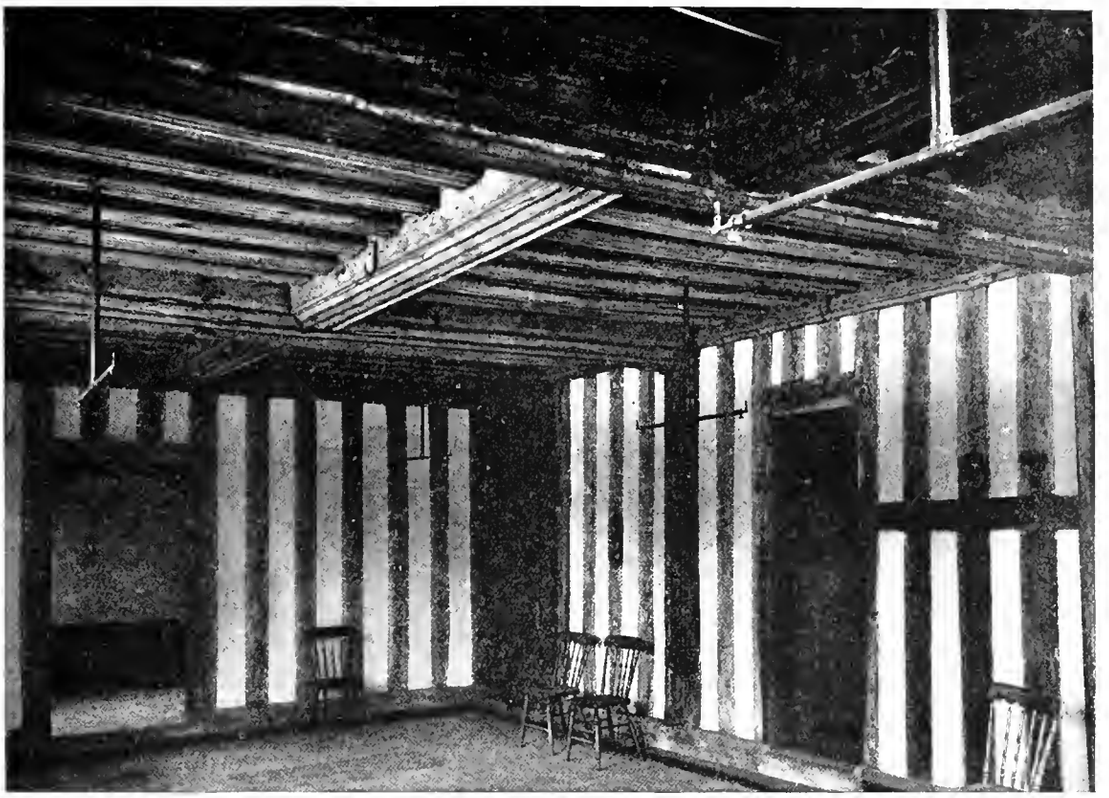


Fig. 203.

LAVENHAM GUILD HALL. THE MAIN HALL.

32 ft. by 17 ft.

Fig. 204.

LAVENHAM WOOLHALL, SOUTH WING. CEILING BEAMS.

18 ft. 6 ins. by 15 ft. 1 in

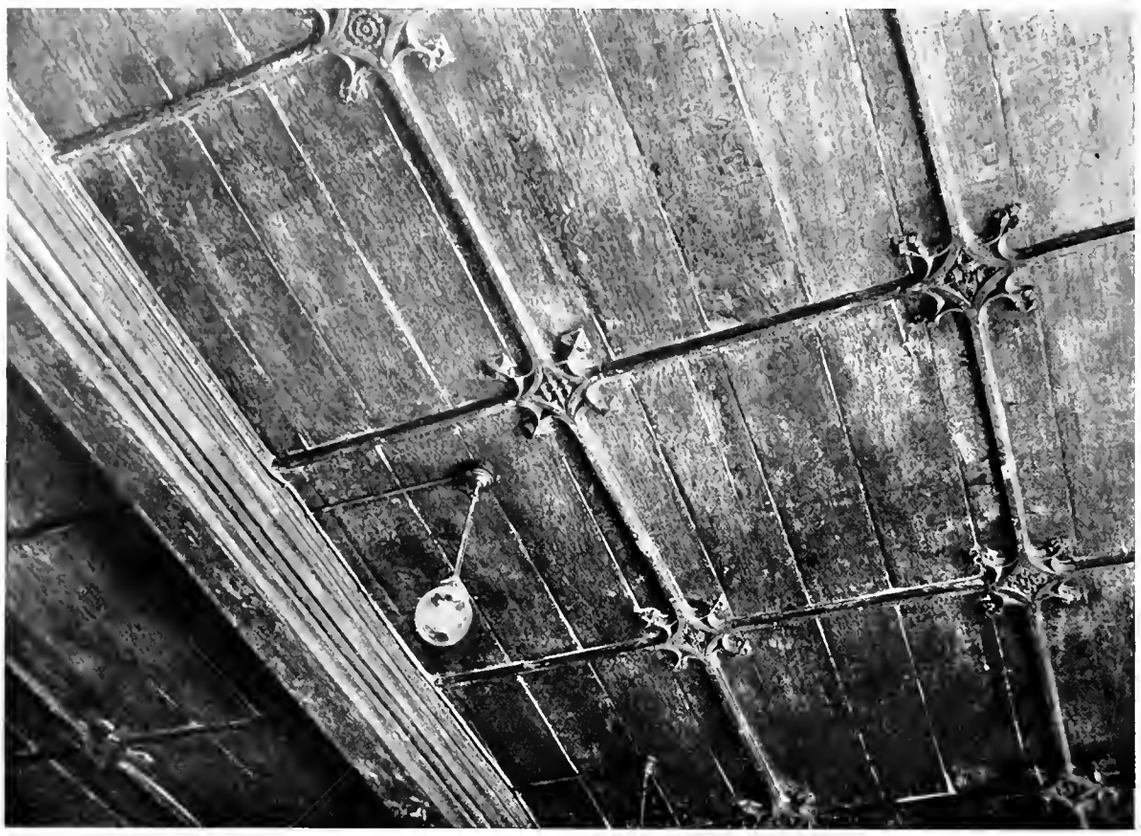


Fig. 205.

OAK-BOARDED CEILING FROM A HOUSE AT LAVENHAM

Late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

E. Garrard, Esq.

here shown partially restored. On the ground floor, at the nearest corner in the illustration, will be noticed the framings of old shop windows. Similar windows also existed on the Water Street elevation, but they have been covered with plaster. The projecting joist-ends, on the first floor overhang, and their bracketted supports from the slender wall posts, in buttress form, with carved capitals, should be noted here as exceptional details, although of the shafts only a vestige remains.

Two views of the projecting porch of Lavenham Guild Hall are shown in Figs. 181 and 182. This is a rich example, although the original door is missing. The carving of the corner bracket and the niched corner-posts is exceedingly choice in secular work, even for the late fifteenth century. The photographs were taken prior to the restoration of 1914, when a number of new bay windows were added in a regrettable endeavour to improve the elevation of the fine old Hall.

One of the corner-posts to the Lavenham Woolhall, together with its dragon-beam

and overhanging story-bracing is given in Fig. 183. The corner-post of the Guild Hall is illustrated in Fig. 184, together with two of the modern bay windows which were added at the time of the 1914 restoration.

One of these mid-fifteenth-century corner-posts can be seen in Fig. 185. Below the enriched band is a Gothic head with crocketted central mullion and the tracery above becomes shallower as it rises to the apex of the post. Viewed cornerwise this post has supported a dragon-beam 9 ins. in width. A portion of the top of this post has been cut off. Originally, it sprang outward and upward, as in the Lavenham Guild Hall post, Fig. 184.

Lavenham Guild Hall was erected in about the year 1486 for one of the Cloth Guilds of Corpus Christi. At this period the English woollen trade with the Low Countries was very large, and Lavenham was one of the weaving centres. The act of Henry VIII, in debasing the English silver coinage, annihilated this trade, and Lavenham remains to-day, a feeble shadow only of its former wealth and glory, the home of horse-hair cloth-weaving, in itself a dying industry. Of this rich Guild Hall only one of the original bay windows remains, and this is in a badly restored state. It is shown in Fig. 186. It shows the transom type, flanked with top lights. The window-head is supported by "false-tenons" into the overhanging floor joists. The heavy cill is wrought from the solid, and is finely moulded and carved.

Fig. 206.
ELMSETT CHURCH, SUFFOLK.
Oak boards with applied iron straps.
Late fourteenth century.

Fig. 187 shows a corbelled window from a house in Lavenham, of the mullioned type, with carved transom and cill. The bay is square on plan, and without side lights. The door at the side, with its Gothic head and spandrel, shows the

Fig. 207.
CHANCEL DOOR, NEEDHAM MARKET CHURCH.
Early fifteenth century.

domestic fashion of the last half of the sixteenth century. Here, as in Fig. 180, the brackets from the joist-ends on either side of the door are carried on slender buttresses.

Alston Court, Nayland, Suffolk, is a half-timbered house, dating from the closing years of the reign of Edward IV, between 1475 and 1480. It is a good example of a yeoman's house of the superior kind. Built round an open courtyard, in the manner of its time, it possesses a Great Hall with mullioned windows, glazed with heraldic emblazonry of coats of arms of well-known Norfolk and Suffolk families, of its own and subsequent dates.

The house has grown by additions made at later periods in its history. The dining-room was panelled with oak in 1631, at a date when dissensions between Cavalier and Parliamentarian were beginning to become acute. This room has finely carved beams and a window with fine old stained glass. Above is the Solar, and adjoining is a room with a waggon ceiling of oak. By permission of the owner, Mr. A. M. Fenn, two of the corbelled windows are shown in Figs. 188 and 189. Both are of late fifteenth-century type, well restored, and the first shows some of the heraldic glass of the sixteenth century which is one of the features of Alston Court.

Fig. 208.
BARKING CHURCH, SUFFOLK, VESTRY DOOR.
Mid-fifteenth century.

Among the important features of both timber houses and churches of the fifteenth century were the elaborate timber porches. In the latter these were often of the most ornate description, both externally and internally. The house porch was closed by a door at its entrance, hence the need for ornament in its interior was not so keenly felt, timber

Fig. 209.
KEY CHURCH, IPSWICH, PRIEST'S DOOR.
Late fifteenth century.

houses, as a rule, being more ornate outside than in. Church porches, having the door at the other end, were often embellished with fine open-timber roofs. Boxford Church, Suffolk, has, probably, the most ornate porch in England, views of which are given in Figs. 190 to 192. It dates from the middle of the fourteenth century, and is, therefore, as remarkable for its antiquity as for its rich character.

The roof is vaulted to slender triple columns, and the window openings are traceried with central mul- lions. Over the cambered tie-beam in the front are signs of an original Saint's niche, the evidences of which are still to be seen on the collar-beam above, in the trefoil of the arched head. Four of these interesting Suffolk porches of the fifteenth century are illus-

Fig. 210.

STRANGERS' HALL, NORWICH.

OAK ENTRANCE DOOR WITH WICKET.

Width of large door, 5 ft. 1 in.
Width of small door, 3 ft.
Height of wicket door from wood threshold, 5 ft. 6 ins.

Fig. 211.

THE LEFT-HAND CARYATID OR BRACKET TO THE PORCH CORNICE.

Fig. 212.

THE RIGHT-HAND BRACKET.

Early sixteenth century.

Leonard G. Bolingbroke, Esq.

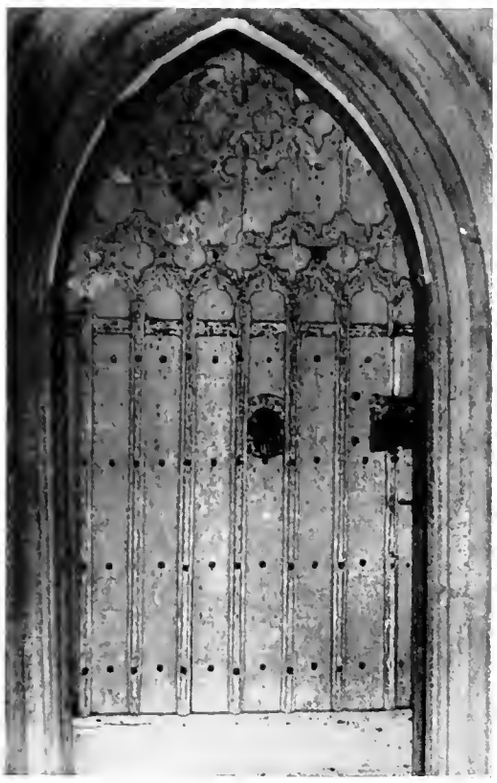


Fig. 213.

Fig. 214.

Fig. 215.

Fig. 213.

BRENT ELEIGH CHURCH, SUFFOLK.

4 ft. wide by 5 ft. 3½ ins. to springing of arch.
8 ft. 2 ins. to apex.
Flat vertical boarded type, with applied ribs and tracery.
Early fifteenth century.

Fig. 214

CHELSWORTH CHURCH, SUFFOLK, S. DOOR.

9 ft. 2 ins. high by 4 ft. 7 ins. wide.
Framed mullion type with inserted traceried heads.
Mid-fifteenth century.

Fig. 215.

EARL STONHAM CHURCH, SUFFOLK.

Moulded ribs with inserted tracery.
Mid-fifteenth century.

trated in Figs. 193 to 196. It will be noticed that the timbering becomes lighter in scantling as the century advances.

Mention has already been made, at various stages, of the Great Hall which is such an integral part of the early English house, but, so far, no example has been illustrated showing this apartment in a timber structure. Gainsburgh Hall, already referred to in the chapter on the timber roof, and fully described therein, is here shown in Fig. 197. Gainsburgh was completed in 1484, and records state that Richard Crookback was entertained in this Hall. It is a good, if somewhat exceptional, example of the late fifteenth century, suffering from ignorant restoration, in company with many fine timber houses of its period. A more typical, if less ornate instance of a Great Hall in a yeoman's house of the fifteenth century, restored with greater judgment, is given

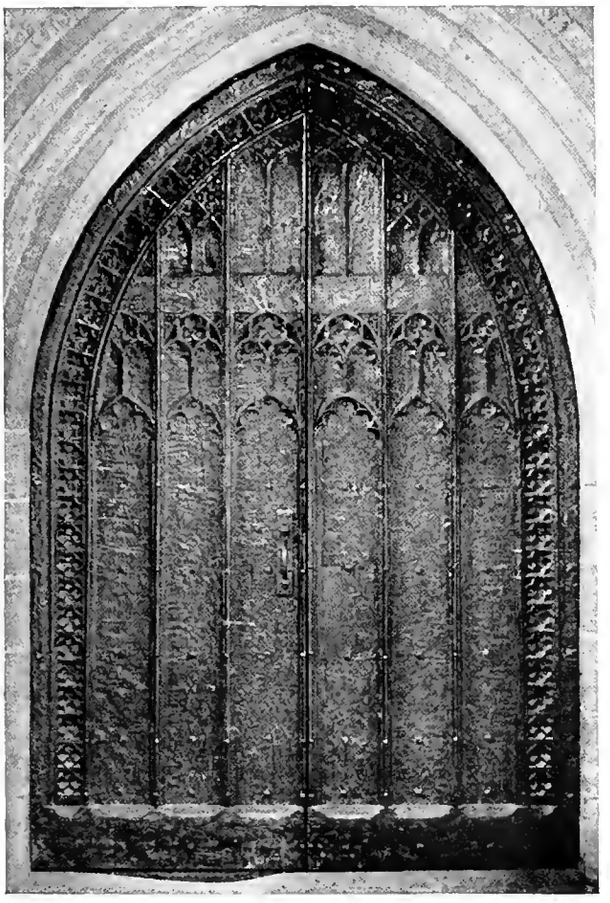


Fig. 216.

BOXFORD CHURCH, SUFFOLK, S DOOR.

Boarded type, of riven oak, with applied tracery. Mid-fifteenth century.

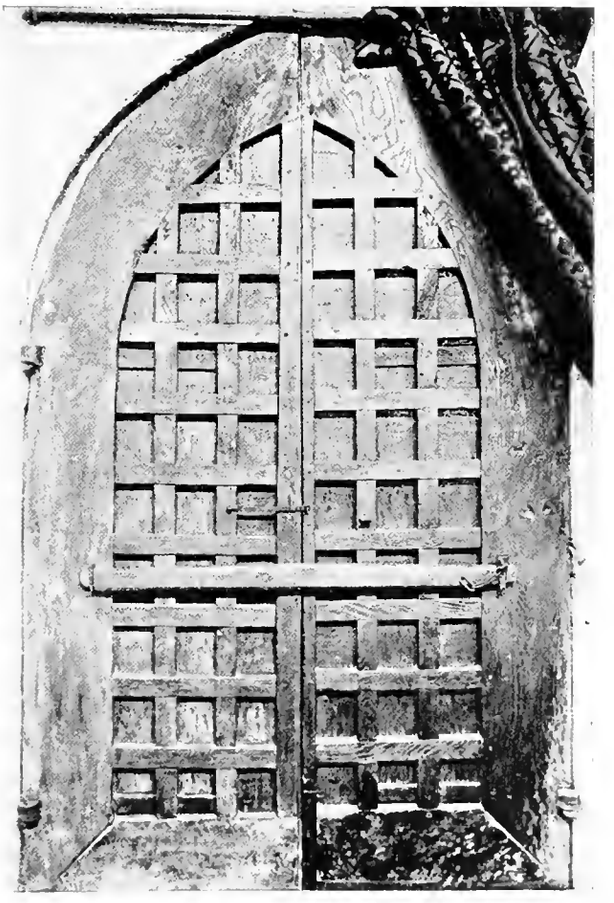


Fig. 217.

THE REVERSE OF THE DOOR, FIG. 216.

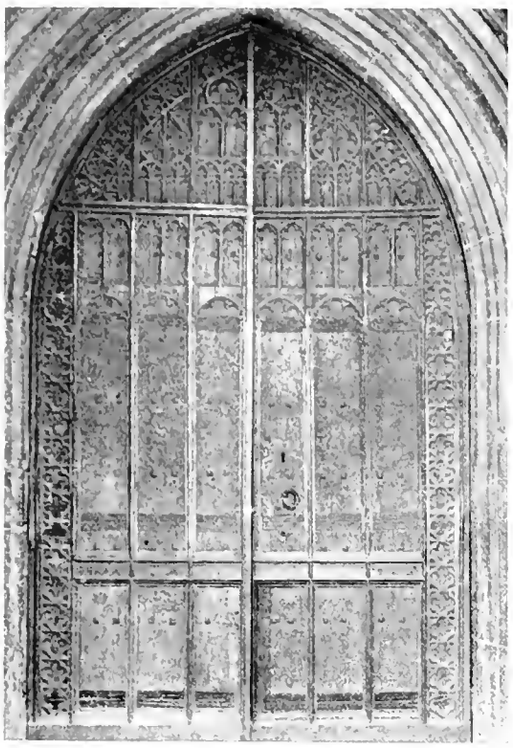


Fig. 218.
HADLEIGH, S. DOOR
Mid-fifteenth century.

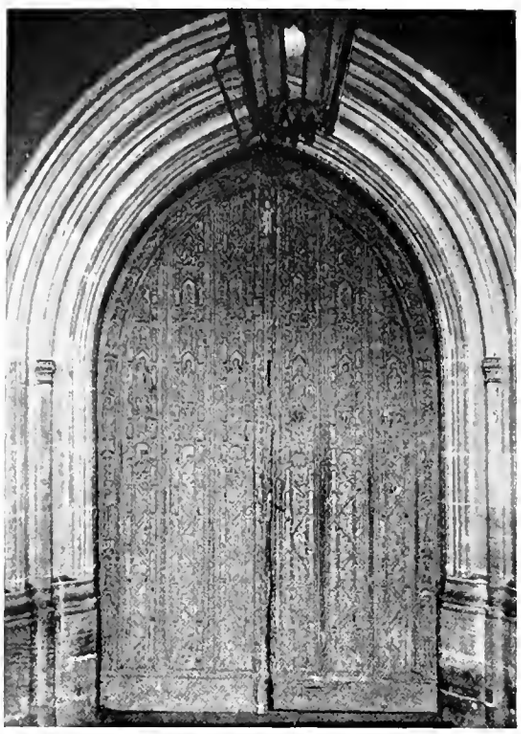


Fig. 219.
STOKE-BY-NAYLAND, SUFFOLK, S. DOOR.
Late fifteenth century.

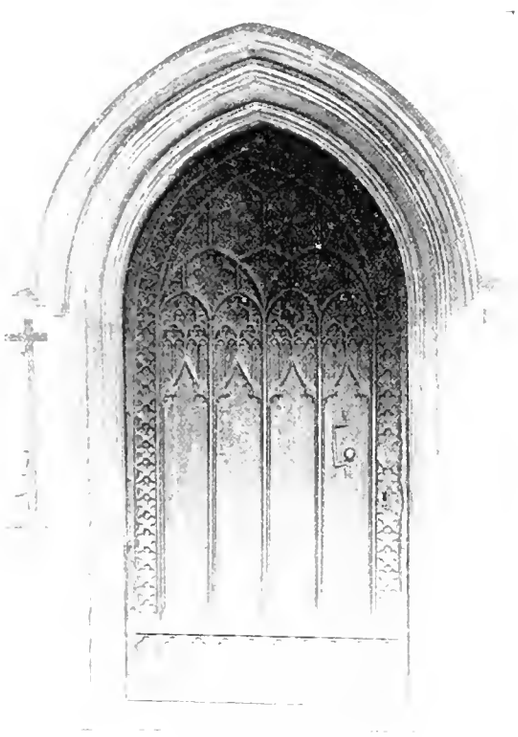


Fig. 220.
ST. MICHAEL-AT-PLEA, NORWICH.
Mid-fifteenth century.
4 ft. 3 ins. wide by 6 ft. 6 ins. to springing of head.

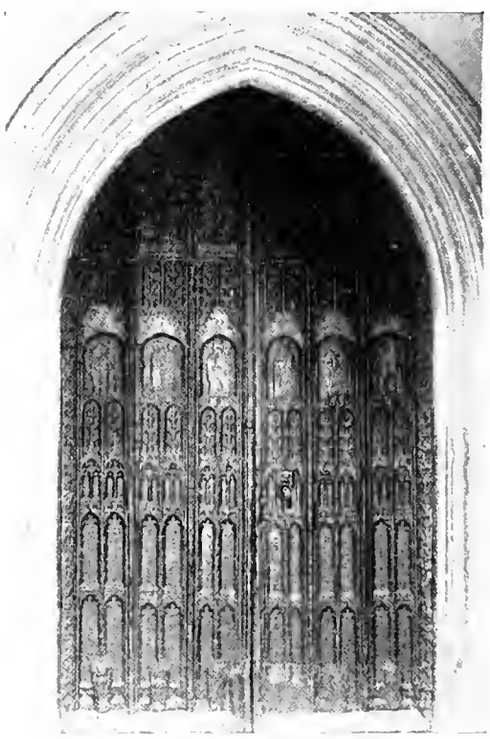


Fig. 221.
DEDHAM, SUFFOLK, N. DOOR.
Mid-fifteenth century.

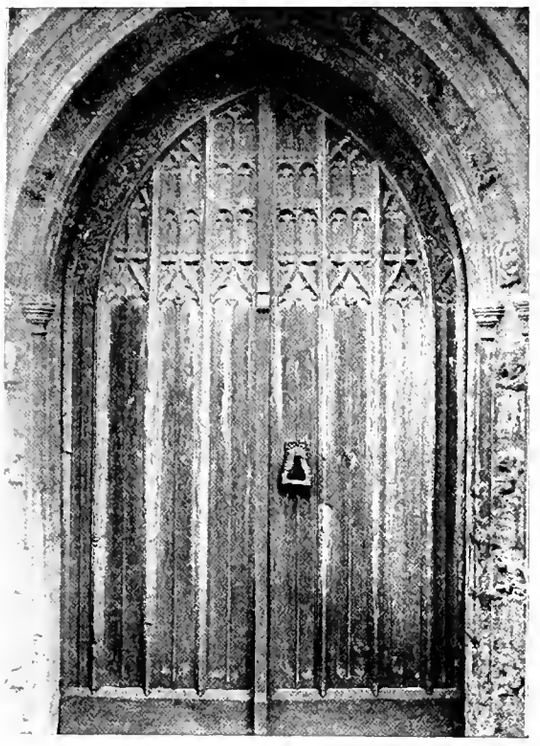


Fig. 222.
WALDINGFIELD, SUFFOLK.
Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 223.
BOXFORD, SUFFOLK, N. DOOR.
Late fifteenth century.

Fig. 224.
KERSEY, SUFFOLK, W. DOOR.
Late fifteenth century.

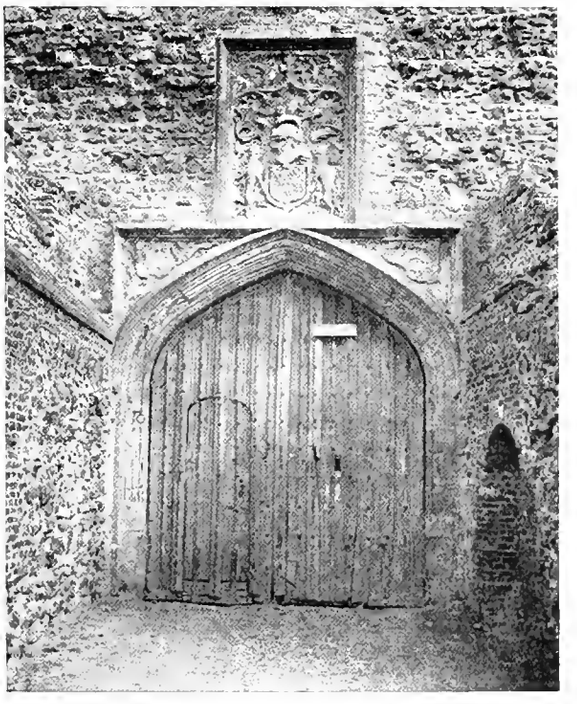


Fig. 225.
FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE, SUFFOLK.
Early sixteenth century.

Fig. 226.
STOWMARKET, SUFFOLK.
6 ft. 4½ ins. to apex; 3 ft. wide.
Late fifteenth century.

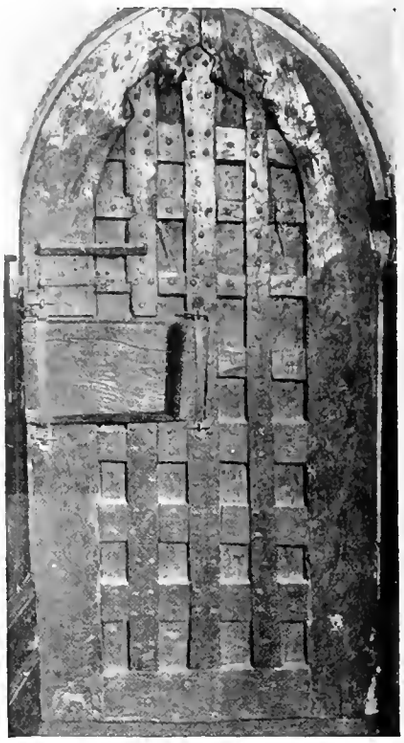


Fig. 227.
THE REVERSE SIDE OF THE DOOR.
Fig. 226.

Tudor House," the stair-
position at this date, and
importance which it after-
lower door, on the right-
case with triangular treads

Timber houses admit,
struction, of the lavish
beams, which form the
From a house in Water
mission of Mr. Garrard, the
joists and beams, shown in
rare, even in Suffolk, to find
although the ceiling from
Figs. 200 and 201, is even
tion. Fig. 202 shows an

in Fig. 198. In Fig. 66
this hall was shown in
process of restoration, as
an example of cambered
tie-beam with king-post
and collar-purlin type of
roof. The gallery and
the door at the end of the
hall are modern insertions,
the former necessitating
the removal of the braces
from the tie-beam to the
main post. As already
pointed out in the chapter
on "The Plan of the Early

Fig. 228.
GREAT BEALINGS, SUFFOLK.
7 ft. 2 ins. to apex; 4 ft. 3 ins. wide.
Late fifteenth century.

case occupied a subsidiary
had not acquired the
wards attained. Here the
hand side opens to a stair-
of solid oak.
from their method of con-
decoration of the ceiling
joists of the floor above.
Street, Lavenham, by per-
beautifully carved series of
Fig. 199, are taken. It is
an example as rich as this,
Paycockes, Coggeshall,
finer in design and execu-
arrangement of moulded

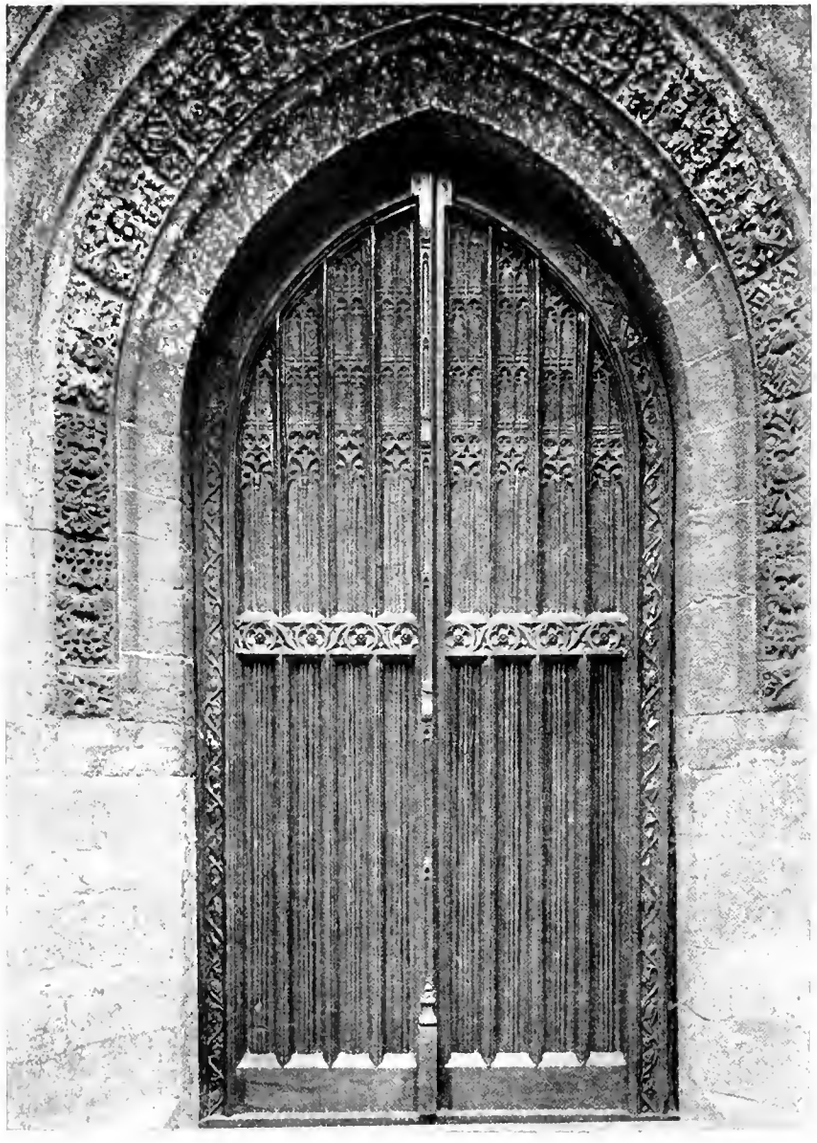


Fig. 229.

STOKE-BY-NAYLAND, SUFFOLK, W. DOOR.

Early sixteenth century

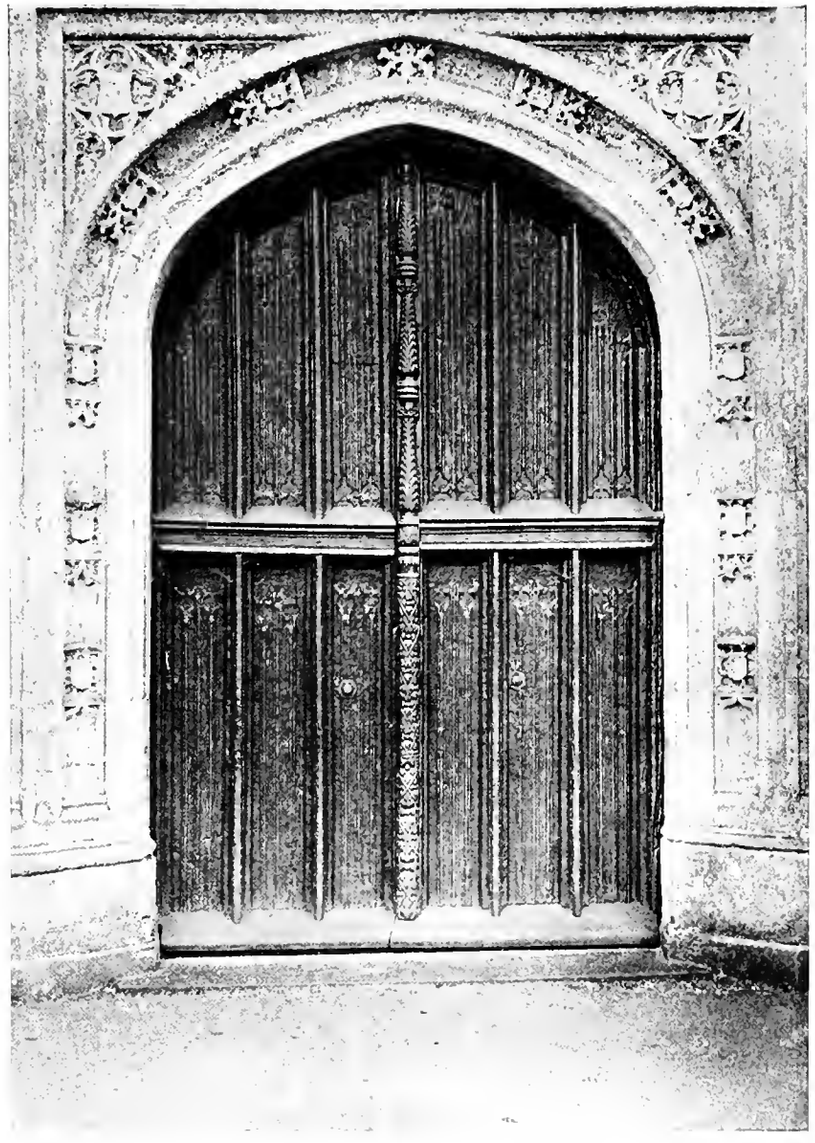


Fig. 230.

EAST BERGHOLT, SUFFOLK, N. DOOR.

Early sixteenth century

beams and joists from the same house. Fig. 203 is from the Lavenham Guild Hall of Corpus Christi, and Fig. 204 from the Woolhall showing the dragon-beam.

In very rare instances the joists of the floor above were covered on the under face with close boarding, as in Fig. 205, to form a ceiling. The small ribs have a value beyond that of mere decoration, in stiffening the boards and preventing sag. The boarding here is of finely figured quartered oak, V-jointed, of about three-eighths of an inch in thickness. The ribs are moulded and have carved cusped bosses at their intersections. There are signs of painting, probably original, in the quirks of the mouldings of this ceiling.

With the Gothic pre-eminent, until the early years of the sixteenth century, there is not the difference one would expect to find in decorative treatment between doors of churches, castles or timber houses. Stone or brick can be built in sections, in the form of a lancet arch, whereas with timber it is necessary to cut the shapes from huge pieces of oak. The high springing of the door heads, which is usual in churches and stone-built castles, is, therefore, usually absent in timber houses, where the head is flattened. We cannot compare early church doors of the fourteenth century with those in timber houses of the same date, as the latter do not exist.

Fig. 231.
STOKE-BY-NAYLAND, SUFFOLK.
Chancel Door.
Early sixteenth century.

The early and rather crude types of doors of the fourteenth century were constructed externally of vertical boards with dowelled, rebated or tongued and grooved joints. They were laminated, internally, with horizontal close-boarding, the whole being fastened together with heavy wrought nails, generally decorated with elaborate ironwork, the design and the fixing spikes of which assisted in the construction, as at Elmsett Church, Fig. 206.

Another type was constructed with horizontal spaced battens fixed across the-

Fig. 232.

PAYCOCKES, COGGESHALL, ESSEX.

Carved Oak Doors and Surround.

10 ft. 5½ ins. to apex ; 9 ft. 2½ ins. to springing ; 7 ft. 11 ins. wide.

Early sixteenth century. Noel Buxton, Esq.

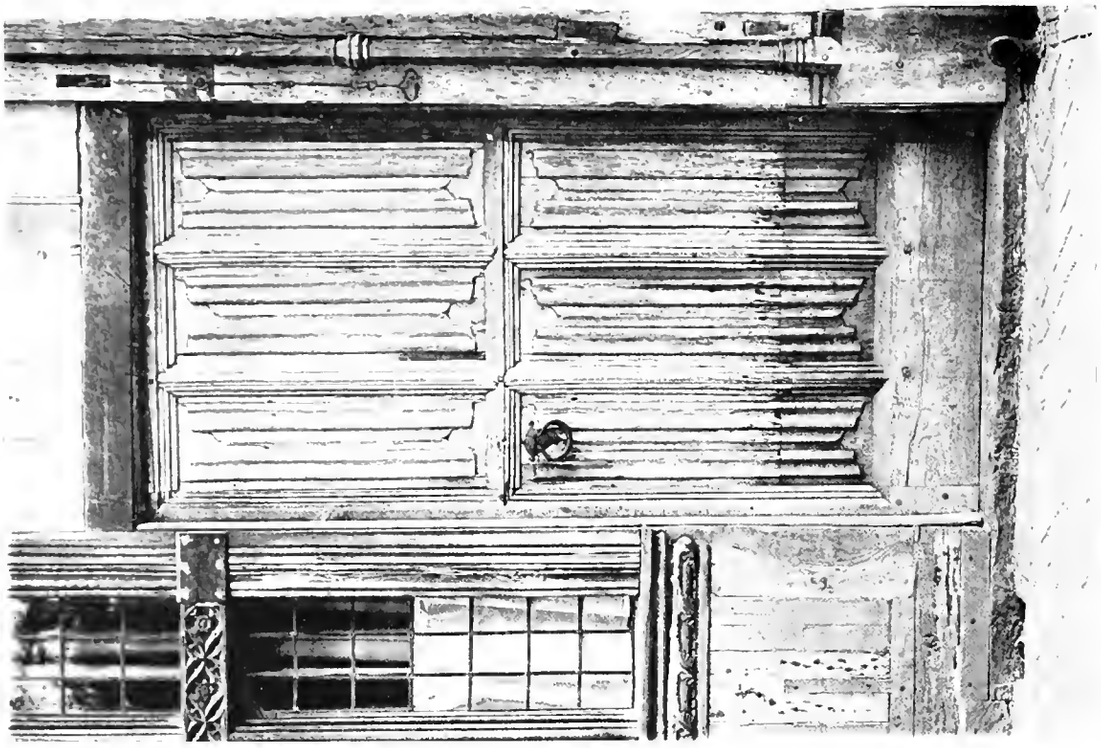


Fig. 234.
PAYCOCKES, COGGESHALL, ESSEX.
Oak Door.
Early sixteenth century. Noel Buxton, Esq.

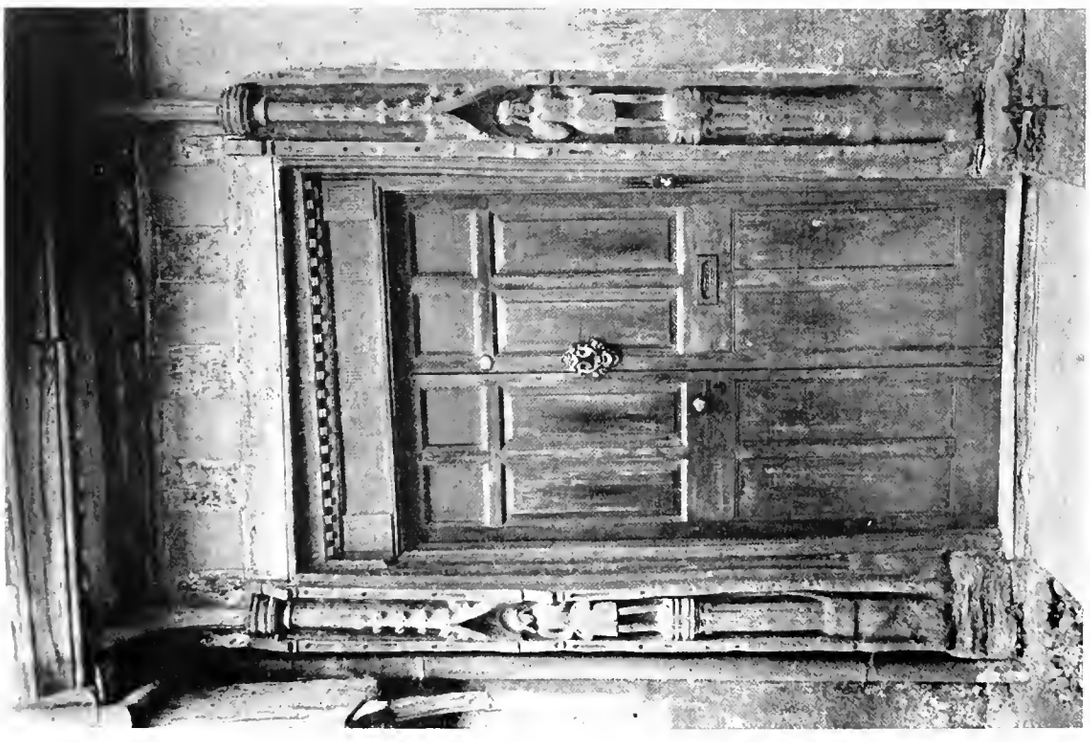


Fig. 233.
LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK.
Carved Oak Door Framing from a house in Water Street.
Date about 1490–1500.

inner face of the vertical boards, long nails being driven through from the face and clinched over the battens. The joints were usually dowelled to prevent the sagging of the board. A further advance in bracing was the halved-framing of vertical and horizontal, or diagonally arranged, battens, constructed to form a complete frame. Tracery and half-mullions were applied to enrich the face in many instances.

The later framed doors were constructed of two massive curved styles, chosen from the naturally bent growth of the timber, mortised together at the apex, and with the bottom rail tenoned into them at the base. Vertical mullions grooved to receive panels were framed within, and further strengthened by rails, halved over the inner face of the mullions, and either tenoned or dovetailed into the styles.

The framed door with transom followed, and was, otherwise, similarly constructed. The styles were decorated, upon their faces, with carved quatrefoils, vine-trails (in which were introduced the forms of birds and grotesque beasts), figures of the Apostles, and saints in tabernacled niches crowned by the figure of Christ or the Holy Mother.

Doors can be roughly arranged, chronologically, in the following order :—

Laminated boarded.
Laminated boarded with applied mullions.
Boarded and ledged.
Boarded and half-jointed; framed on the inside.
Framed with mullions and panels.
Framed mullions and panels with transom.
Completely panelled.

As a general rule, large doors with a wicket are late in the history of door development.

All these doors copy the traceried windows of their time, in general effect, very closely, the tracery patterns of both developing nearly on parallel lines. Towards the sixteenth century, doors are constructed in a similar way to panellings, framed with heavy styles and rails, grooved to

Fig. 235.
OAK DOOR AND FRAMING
Early sixteenth century.
Victoria and Albert Museum

receive panels. It is at this date that we get the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century types of decoration, the linenfold and the parchemin panels. At all periods the double doors of large size are usually furnished with a smaller door, or wicket, as at the Strangers' Hall, Fig. 210. Here the later overhanging porch cornice is supported by grotesque brackets, carved with considerable vigour, shown in Figs. 211 and 212.

Figs. 207 to 209 show the fifteenth-century types of chancel or priests' doors. Needham Market is the older solid construction with heraldic carvings in low relief,—now considerably defaced,— Barking vestry door has the moulded mullions with applied tracery between, and Key Church priest's door has the vertical moulded ribs secured by heavy iron nails with facetted heads.

The door of Brent Eleigh, Fig. 213, is of the vertical boarded kind, iron nailed to a strong cross-battened framework behind, and with moulded ribs and tracery applied. Chelsworth south door, Fig. 214, is of the framed mullion type, with quatrefoiled band round, and headed with tracery in the mullion grooves. Earl Stonham, Fig. 215, is traceried in the solid, with signs of niche-work in the upper panels, now cut flush and defaced.

Boxford south door, Fig. 216, is similar to Chelsworth, with the same quatrefoil band. The tracery is applied, and the oak appears to be riven instead of sawn. Fig. 217 shows the framing and cross-battening of the back. The lower rail of the door is a restoration. Hadleigh south door, Fig. 218, has the same traceried band, on its outer framing, but carried vertically into the moulded transom, with some effect of distortion, as the border continues, in its full width, above. Fig. 219, from Stoke-by-Nayland, is richly carved with figures of saints and angels. It is framed on the fronts with long vertical mullions into a heavy bottom rail, in long straight lines, without transom. St. Michael-at-Plea, Fig. 220, has a mid-fifteenth-century door in the earlier manner, where the ribs are lanceolated and intersected, in direct copy of a Gothic window. Fig. 221 from Dedham is an example of the niched or tabernacle form, where saints are carved with projecting canopies over, here almost obliterated. Below and above is the long crocketted stem of 1450. These doors are completely traceried, with a fixed lunette above the transom, below which the two doors open.

Waldingfield, Fig. 222, has the narrow vertical panels moulded to a central ridge, the embryonic linenfold which marks the latter half of the fifteenth century. The same detail may be noticed in the north door of Boxford, Fig. 223. Kersey west door, Fig. 224, is of simple framed mullioned type with tracery carved from the solid. The large doors, with wicket, from the ruined castle of Framlingham, Fig. 225, have the panels completely moulded, with applied ribs, fixed with large square-headed nails. It

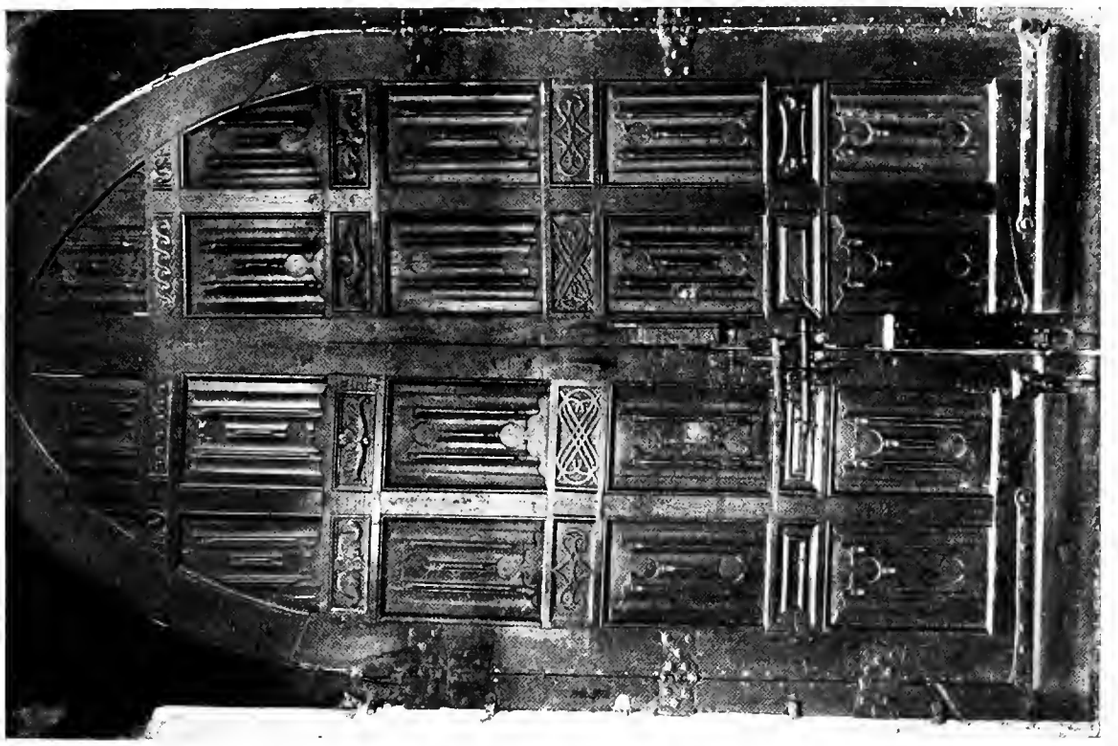


Fig. 237.
THE REVERSE SIDE OF FIG. 236.

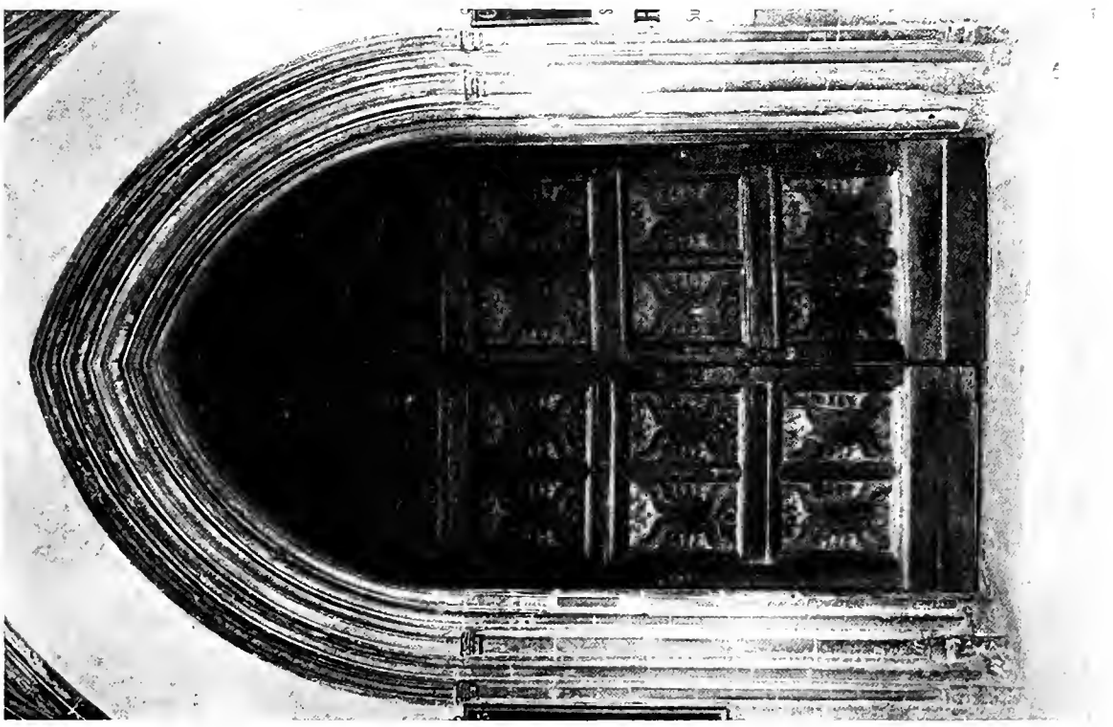


Fig. 236.
SOUTHWOLD, S. DOORS.
10 ft. 9 ins. to apex; 6 ft. 9 ins. to springing; 5 ft. 11 ins. wide.
Early sixteenth century.

will be remarked, at this period, that there is no distinct line of demarcation between church and castle doors, excepting for the flattening, or four centring of the arched head.

Stowmarket Church, Fig. 226, has the early linenfold type of door, framed with mullions and with sharply ridged panels between. The ribboned and niched border is unusual. The back view, Fig. 227, shows the half-lapped battening tenoned into the outer framing, together with the dovetail-jointing of the uprights on the arch-springing. Great Bealings, Fig. 228, is framed with broad transom below the lancet-head, with solid-carved tracery and ridged panels.

Two rich doors from the first years of the sixteenth century are illustrated in Figs. 229 and 230. Both are framed with slender mullions and broad transoms. In the Stoke-by-Nayland doors the dividing bead is in buttress-form, whereas at East Bergholt, it is turned and richly carved in patterns which suggest the dawn of the Renaissance in England. This is the later type of the two, broader and flatter in the arch, and with the moulded panels finished in the true linenfold manner, whereas at Stoke-by-Nayland, this detail is merely suggested. Stoke-by-Nayland chancel door, Fig. 231, is constructed of planks or boards, carved with the linenfold, and with moulded framing applied,—early construction in a late door.

A fine pair of linenfold doors from Paycockes, Coggeshall, of the framed early-sixteenth-century type, is shown in Fig. 232. At the back is a framing of four cross-rails and four upright styles, tenoned and mortised, the three panels to each door being diagonally cross-braced, the bracings half-lapped to the inside upright styles. On the front, the linenfold is carved in bold relief, and the side posts are surmounted by two figures, of a Crusader and a monk, which support carved and moulded capitals under the elaborate wall-plate.

The beautiful door-posts and brackets, Fig. 233, are taken from a house in Water Street, Lavenham, and show the decorative use of figure sculpture, in the enrichment of the timber houses of the last years of the fifteenth century. The doors are of considerably later date.

Another fine door from Paycockes is given in Fig. 234. It has the appearance of an interior door put to an exterior use. The mason's-mitring of the moulded styles on the outside framing, and the scribing of the central muntins, can be seen in the illustration. It should be unnecessary to point out that the modern method of mitring mouldings by cutting at their ends to an angle of 45 degrees was very rarely practised at this period. Cutting one moulding, in reversed profile over another,—or scribing as it is

termed—or butting with square edge and then working the return of the moulding in the solid,—the mason's-mitre,—were practically the only methods which were used in woodwork of this period. The modern mitre appears, and then only in exceptional instances, towards the middle of the sixteenth century.

To this early sixteenth century belongs the oak door with its surround, from Church Farm, Clare, Suffolk, Fig. 235, which may be taken as a representative specimen of a timber house door of the unostentatious kind. The construction of this door is exceptional. On a framed back the front boards are nailed, each with a slight overlap over the next, or clinker-boarded, to use the technical term, the left-hand edge of each (that is, the one which is not hidden by the overlapping of the next) being moulded with a scratch-bead. The original iron strap hinges, which are missing, were cut in across the width of the boards, at varying depths according to the forward projection, as the boards, in cross-section, are arranged thus :—

Each board is nailed to the framing behind, with four courses of clout-headed iron nails. There are, of course, no vertical ribs, as the construction forbids.

This series of oak doors may be closed with the parchemin panel, which is contemporary with the linenfold. At Southwold, Figs. 236 and 237, the parchemin pattern is shown on the front and the linenfold on the back, an unusual degree of enrichment in an early-sixteenth-century door. On the front are several purely Renaissance motives

Fig. 238.
OAK DOOR.

From Norwich Castle Museum
By permission of Frank Leney, Esq
Early sixteenth century.

introduced into the upper panels, and on the back the same influence is noticeable in the two upper cross-rails. Fig. 238 is an interesting door from Norwich Castle Museum, square framed with vertical moulded mullions, and with an inscription carved on the two cross-rails as follows: —Maria; Plena; Gracie; Mater: Mis(ericordie) Remembyr: Willia(m) Lowth: Prior XVIII—The William Louth, or Lowth, referred to was the eighteenth Prior of Walsingham.

We have progressed, thus far, from the timber house with its porch and its door, to the Great Hall with open timber roof and the smaller chamber with carved beamed ceiling, and have, thereby, prepared the way for the next two chapters—the most important in the history of English domestic woodwork—where it is proposed to deal with the subject of wall-panellings at some length, and, in a more restricted fashion, with the growth in importance of the staircase, the development of which had the effect of radically altering the plan of the Tudor house, and, in a lesser degree, its elevation also. There are definite types of panelling, both in point of date and locality, which permit of illustration and explanation, whereas this is only approximately true of staircases. It is not that the latter do not vary; they differ with every example. Added to this, staircases are not as plentiful as panellings, for obvious reasons. In the usual house, one, or at the most, two stairways were sufficient for access to the upper floors, whereas nearly every room was panelled as a rule. It is possible, nevertheless, to class them roughly into the early and unimportant—one might almost say, the concealed—the heavy and ornate, and the latest development where the staircase becomes very refined and delicate in its proportions. The last phase carries us past the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, a period which is beyond the scope of the present book.

Chapter VIII.

The English Staircase.

IT cannot be insisted upon too frequently, that only a fashion is responsible for a development of type, and production in quantity is necessary for the inauguration of a fashion. Furniture becomes stereotyped, in what we know as styles, in direct ratio to its quantitative production. Houses are single units, as a rule, and vary accordingly. It is only when they are built in the mass, as in rows or terraces, that the one is a direct copy of others. We have similarity, therefore, in many of the large houses of a certain period, especially in details, but rarely identity. Panellings of rooms multiply in the proportion of the number of principal rooms to the house itself, and when we come to furniture for these rooms, we get ever-recurring types of tables, chairs and the like, and, with production in quantity, we reach a fashion, and with it what is known as a defined style.

Development in woodwork and furniture proceeds along two main lines; of utility and of decorative value. Thus a writing-table fulfils one function, whereas an occasional table, as its name implies, has many uses. In tracing the evolution of the English staircase, which, apart from its decorative qualities, has one function only, space considerations forbid more than an illustrated description of its rise, in size and importance. Staircases are, from their special character, few in number, compared with other woodwork of the house, and, therefore, do not attain to a distinct type in the really important examples. No two being identical, as a general rule, it would be necessary, in order to show a progression of design,—if such really existed, which is doubtful, —to illustrate every staircase in the important houses of Great Britain.

It is possible, however, even in the limited space available here, to give a general idea of the rise in importance of the English staircase, and to describe, briefly, the factors which dictated its development in this direction.

The early domestic staircase is purely utilitarian, a method of access to a floor above from the one below. In many of the Norman dwellings, as in Boothby Pagnell and Little Wenham Hall, the stair is outside the house, totally unprotected from the weather other than by a crude pent-roof. In houses and castles built for defence, the stairway, of stone, is never conspicuous, being generally concealed in a separate turret, in the

same way as the tower stairs are in many parish churches, which lead to the belfry, and above, to the roof of the tower.

Stairs of this kind are nearly always of the central newel or vise description, and before the method of supporting the staircase by means of risers, cantilevered from, and wedged into a wall-plate with carriages and outside strings, was devised, the spiral or central-newel stair was usual in dwelling-houses, even of the superior kind. A very characteristic example exists at Hales Place, Tenterden, Kent, where the treads and risers are fixed into a central newel, which is, actually, the trunk of a tree, fixed into the ground, and reaching from floor to roof. In Wales, even at the present day, houses exist which have been built round a growing tree, into which the stairs have been housed. These staircases have, from their central position, a prominence which was not intentional, but merely accidental.

The early Tudor house, with its Great Hall, of roof height, was effectually divided into two parts, and two, if not more staircases were required for access to the upper floors. At Parnham Park there are two, very inconspicuous in character, one of which rises to a mezzanine floor, which does not exist at the other end of the Hall. It is only when the Great Hall dwindles in size, and especially in height, that the one principal stair serves for the house, and begins to assume an importance which it had, hitherto, not possessed.

The entrance door at Little Wolford, Fig. 239, opens to the passage dividing the Great Hall from the buttery and servants' regions, the "skreens" as it is termed. The stone newel stair is shown in Fig. 240. At Breccles, Fig. 241, the staircase illustrated here (one of several in the house) is of oak, the risers being fixed into the wall at one end, and into the oak newel-post at the other.

The stability of staircases appears to have troubled the mediæval builder for many years. The main stairs at Breccles, as at Great Chalfield, have treads and risers supported on walls or framings at either end. Chequers Court has also a staircase of this kind. At Durham Castle the newels are very high, reaching from floor to floor, acting as direct supports to the stair. In the early independent staircases, the outside strings are always needlessly massive, as at the Charterhouse, Chilham and Tissington. The problem was sometimes solved by a supporting spandrel, with posts, on the outside of the stair, as at Chequers. It is only towards the end of the seventeenth century that staircases begin to be constructed with open soffits underneath and with light strings. That the necessary strength in riser, string and carriage was provided, is shown by the fact that they have persisted with little or no sag away from the

Fig. 239.

LITTLE WOLFORD MANOR, WARWICKSHIRE.

The Screen from the Main Entrance Door.
Mid-sixteenth century.

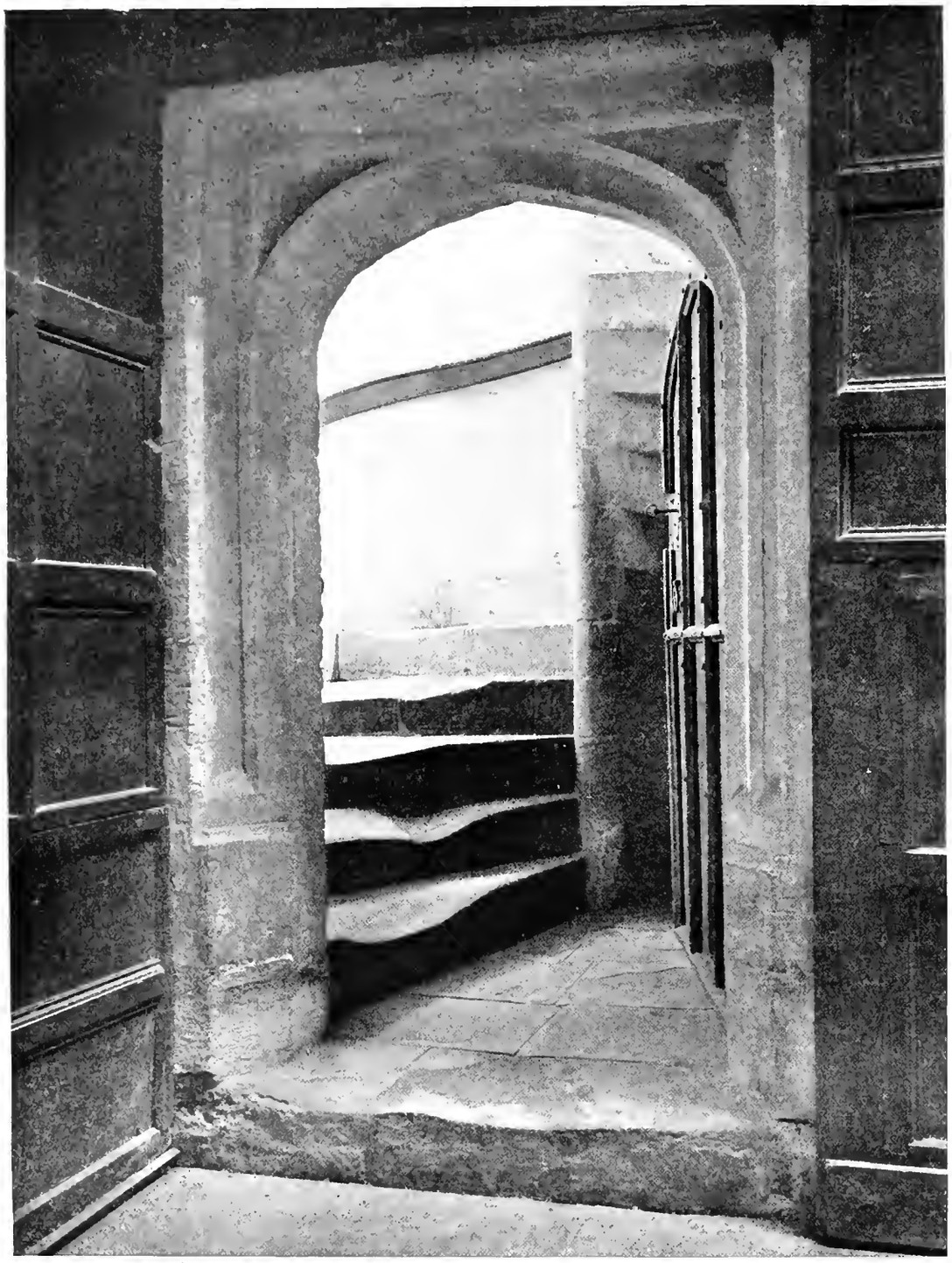


Fig. 240.

LITTLE WOLFORD MANOR, WARWICKSHIRE.

The Stone Central-Newel Stairway.

side walls, even although, at this date, the newel-post had become almost purely ornamental.

Beachampton Farm, Fig. 242, has a typical, if somewhat ornate, example of an oak staircase of the first years of the seventeenth century. The newels are massive, with large handrail and string, all supported by heavy posts and beams, with the strings of the long flights resting on retaining walls. One of the heraldic newel finials is given in Fig. 243. That this staircase is original to the small and decayed manor house in which it is in at present, is very doubtful. The shield, which the lion holds, has the royal device of a crowned Tudor rose. The staircase is also not complete; it is patchworked into another of simpler and slighter character. There are numerous instances of this transplanting of staircases from larger houses to dwellings of lesser importance. One exists, at Little Hawkenbury Farm, near Pembury, in Kent, which is, obviously, disproportionate to the house

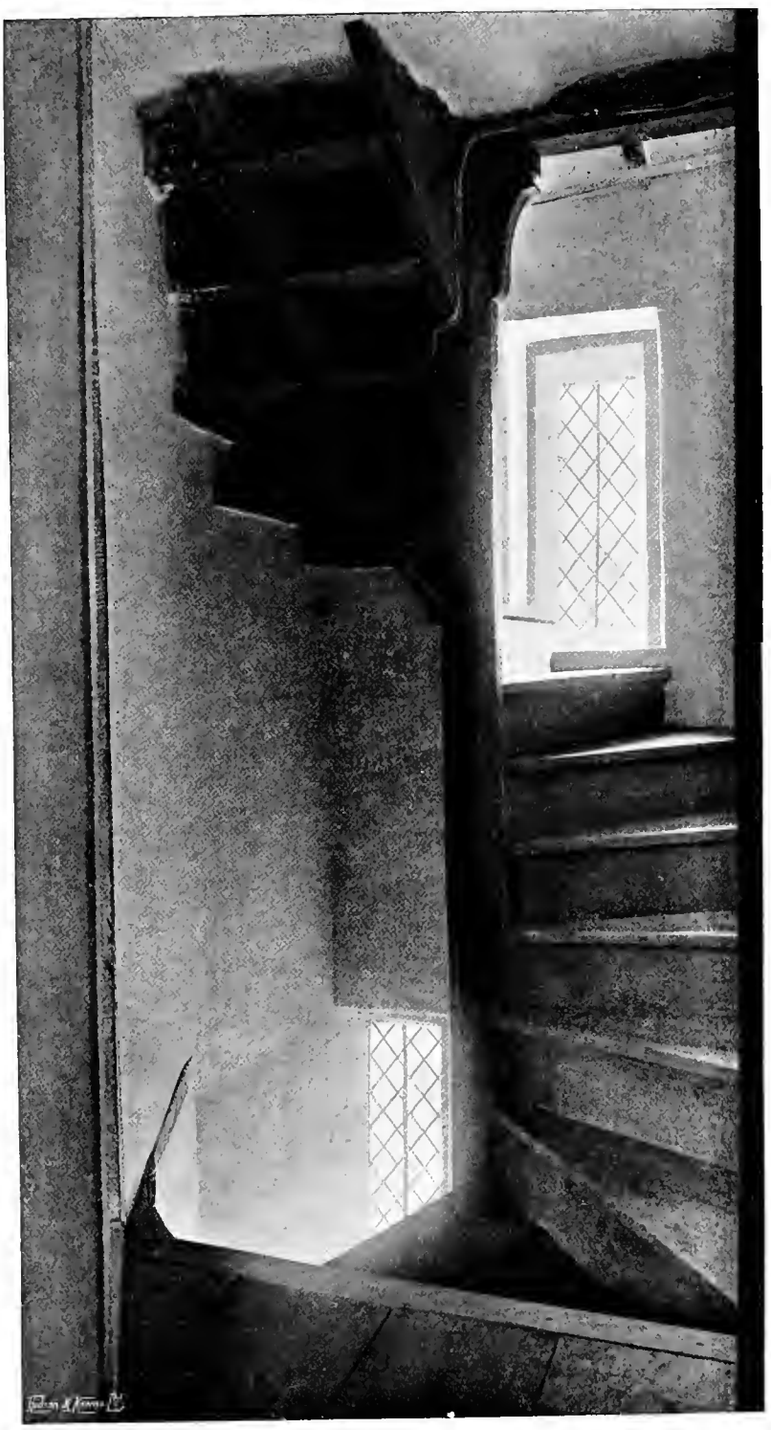


Fig 241.

BRECCLES HALL, NORFOLK.

Oak Newel Staircase.
Mid-sixteenth century.

it is in. With the demolition of large houses, where stones, bricks, lead and the like would be treated merely as materials, elaborate staircases of this kind were preserved, as a rule, in their integrity, removed and refixed in as nearly a complete and original state as possible. Lewes Town Hall has a fine staircase which was removed from a house in the town. It has been adapted to its new habitat somewhat clumsily, with many additions and reconstructions, but sufficient remains of the original to show that it must have been a fine example of woodwork when in the house for which it was made.

Tall newel finials were the usual finish to these early-seventeenth-century staircases. At Charlton, Fig. 244, they have been replaced, with a considerable loss of dignity, by small carved pinnacles. The newels are nearly always square, with flat ornament of strapwork, sometimes interlaced and cut by the carver, and decorated with applied bosses or split balusters, as at Aston, or left in imitation of applied fretwork, as at Charlton. A feature of these early-seventeenth-century staircases is that they are nearly always contrived in a series of short flights, which implies a small staircase hall, as the flights reach from landing to wall. Even at Wolseley Hall, Fig. 253, the post-Restoration staircase has this feature of not more than about twelve treads divided by square landings. The long flight does not appear, in authentic work, until the eighteenth century. At Hemsted, Fig. 245, where the staircase dates from about 1850, and the balustrades only from the last few years, the long flights look wrong, compared with the detail of the newel, handrail and pierced panel. In a staircase hall of this size, no other arrangement is possible, but in a house of the seventeenth century, this hall would have been smaller and the long flights avoided. The stair at Hemsted from first to second floors, Fig. 246, illustrates this method of breaking up by frequent landings much better than the great staircase. With the seventeenth-century stairs, landings do not always imply turnings ; it is not unusual to find a long flight broken up by landings and newels in the one line, but, as a rule, the newel-posts are continued to the floor, and the spaces between, below the string, filled with a panelled spandrel.

Were it possible to illustrate staircases in great numbers, it might be discovered that particular localities possessed their peculiar types. Unfortunately, although we can say, that in nearly every house of importance, the staircase is contemporary with and original to the structure, or if the contrary be the case, such fact is known, we are not always certain that these staircases are local, either in design or make. It was customary, in the erection of many of the important houses during the seventeenth century, for wealthy owners to instruct London architects, who employed labour from

Fig. 242.

BEACHAMPTON FARM.

The Staircase. Date about 1603.

Fig. 243.
BEACHAMPTON FARM.
Enlarged View of the Staircase Newel

parts of England often far removed from the house itself. We know this to be the fact equally with Inigo Jones in the first half, and with Thorpe, Kent, Ware, Gibbs, Wren and others, at the other end of the seventeenth, and the early years of the eighteenth centuries. Panelling was much more frequently of local make than was the case with staircases and interior woodwork of similar character.

It is unsafe, therefore, to state, positively, that a staircase in a Lancashire house, for example, is either of the design or workmanship of the neighbourhood. Styles, in this instance, vary far more at different periods than in distinct localities, although there are, in a general way, great differences between Midland and East Anglian staircases, and many of the later styles, when stairs become lighter in construction and more delicate in proportion, originate in the Home Counties at a date much earlier than the influence of this new manner is manifested in other districts of England.

The following examples may be taken as representative of the great house manner of their period, but, as before pointed out, it is unwise to postulate a locality of origin.

Fig. 247 is a fragment of one of the staircases formerly in the early-seventeenth-century house of Lyme, before it was rebuilt by Leoni some hundred years later. It shows the richly carved and pierced panels of this date, framed between vertical moulded mullions. The newels are coarse, but vigorous, bearing signs, however, of finial replace-

ment. The balustrade is now fitted to a short stair from the central hall to the mezzanine floor above, containing the present drawing-room. Its date is about 1603, and it may be given as an example of Cheshire woodwork.

At Thorpe Hall, Northamptonshire, the staircase, which dates from the middle of the seventeenth century, is interesting as showing how soon constructional problems were solved. From the second to the third floors, Fig. 248, the stairs are massive, with heavy strings and handrails strongly tenoned into large newels, in short flights to minimise any tendency to sag away from the side walls. Above, to the top landing,

Fig. 244.
CHARLTON HOUSE, KENT.
Detail of Staircase on First Landing.
Date 1612–15.

Fig. 245.

The Great Staircase.

Fig. 246.

The Secondary Staircase.

HEMSTED, KENT.

Viscount Rothermere.

Fig. 247.

LYME PARK, CHESHIRE.

Portion of Staircase from the Early-Seventeenth-Century House.

Capt. the Hon. Richard Legh.

Fig. 249, the construction is much more daring in conception, although based on the old form of a central newel-post with risers tenoned into it. The outer verge of the stair, however, is in the air, contrived with shaped strings, in a spiral form, instead of risers housed, at their other ends, into a wall. This spiral staircase is, of course, thoroughly constructional and rigid, but such departures from established precedent show that great strides had been made in the science of staircase construction at this date. Such examples as this are rare, but they show, nevertheless, the degree of skill which had been acquired at this period.

Forde Abbey, Fig. 250, has the heavy staircase of its period, with broad handrail intersecting with the cappings of large newels, heavy strings, and massive carved and

Fig. 248.
THORPE HALL, NORTHANTS.

Staircase from second to third floors.
Date about 1650.

pierced balustrade panels. Numbers of these fine staircases can be found in many of the large houses of England of this period. At Tredegar, Figs. 251 and 252,—which is a few years later in date, but hardly in style,—the piercing of the panels is more open in character and the flights are unbroken, whereas at Forde they are divided by landings. This may have been due to exigencies of planning, however, where a greater forward distance had to be traversed to reach the same height, or, in the familiar parlance, where the stair had to be "less steep in its going." Fig. 252 shows the landing detail of this fine Tredegar staircase with its vigorous carving of the free scrolling in the panels.

At Wolseley Hall, in Staffordshire, Fig. 253, these pierced panels are replaced by

Fig. 249.
THORPE HALL, NORTHANTS.
Central Newel Staircase at Top Landing.
Date about 1650.

Fig. 250.

FORDE ABBEY, DORSETSHIRE.

The Great Staircase.
Date 1658.

Fig. 251

TREDEGAR PARK, MONMOUTH.

The Staircase.
Date about 1665.

The Viscount Tredegar.

Fig. 252.

THE TREDEGAR PARK STAIRCASE.

Detail of Landing Newels and Panels.

twisted balusters and the ramps of the handrail are steeper in pitch. It may be taken as a good example of the post-Restoration period.

One detail, that of panelling the walls with a dado capped with a semi-handrail, following the lines of that of the staircase itself, persists for many years, and will be found in many of the wooden staircases of the next century. Large allowances must be made, in all cases, for planning exigencies. Had the staircase hall been designed first and the house planned round it, some degree of uniformity might have occurred, but in many of the great houses the chief aim was an agreeable, imposing or symmetrical elevation ; the interior planning had to take care of itself. It is impossible, otherwise, to account for many defects, such as at Nostell Priory, where the distance from the kitchens to the State dining-room is so great as to render a hot dish on the table an impossibility without an interim warming up in transit. It is small wonder, therefore, that many of these great staircases have had to be awkwardly or ingeniously contrived,

Fig. 253
WOLSELEY HALL, STAFFS.
The Staircase. Date about 1670.

Fig. 254.

CASTLENAU HOUSE, MORTLAKE (NOW DESTROYED).

A Portion of the Staircase.

Date about 1680. Victoria and Albert Museum.

with the result that it is surprising they do not vary to an even greater degree than is, actually, the case.

There is little purpose to be served by illustrating a number of examples, which would only prove this point, and no other. Fig. 254 shows the graceful staircase which became fashionable, especially in London houses, towards the end of the seventeenth century. The handrail is delicate, and the newel slight and graceful. The moulding of the former is mitred to form a capping, but this is no longer a part of the newel itself. Both treads and risers are taken through above the string, in moulded returns, each with a carved spandrel underneath. The string also is slight, with a classical frieze-moulding section worked on it. The balusters are

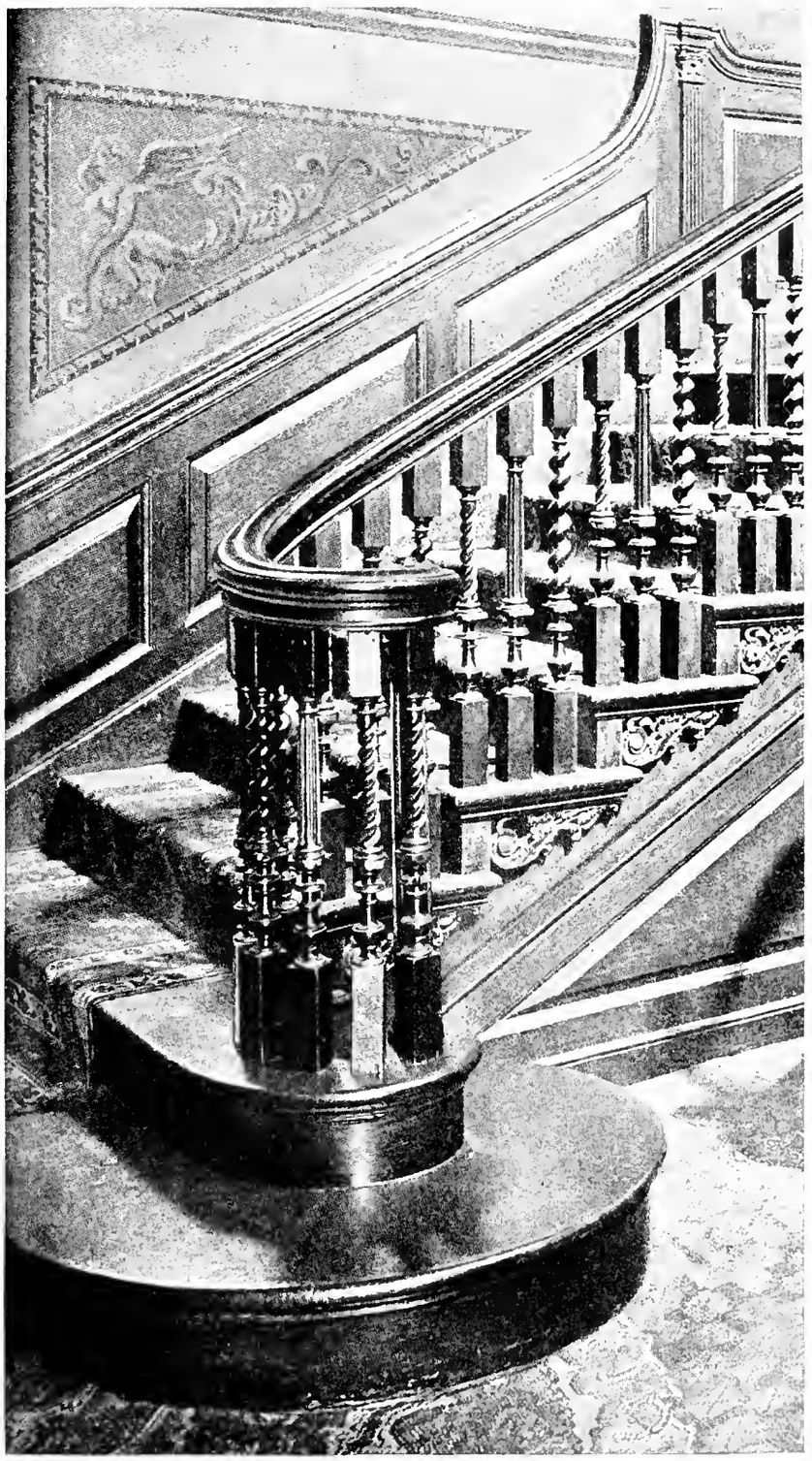


Fig. 255.
31 OLD BURLINGTON STREET, LONDON, W.
The Staircase.
Date about 1730. Messrs. Lenygon and Morant.

slender, turned with fine reeded twists, in this example fixed three to a stair, but all of the same pattern. Fig. 255, which closes this series, is the staircase from 31, Old Burlington Street, which dates from the early eighteenth century. There is scarcely any variation in type observable during a space of upwards of half a century. The handrail no longer finishes as a capping to a newel, but sweeps round in a bold volute, and is supported on a cluster of balusters. In the latter a great variety is obtained by placing three to a stair-tread, as before, but here each of a different pattern. The last two stairs have the bull-nosed finish of the time, more usually found on the last stair only instead of the two, as in this example. Staircases of very similar pattern to this, perhaps not so rich or important, can be found in many of the houses in this locality and in many of the older streets radiating from Holborn and Oxford Street. It is possible that the making of staircases of this type may have become a specialised industry in the first years of the eighteenth century. This is suggested by the use of the same patterns in the turning, fluting or twisting of balusters, the mouldings of handrails and strings, and in the carving of the foliated spandrels fixed under the exposed return of the stair-treads immediately above the outside string.

To illustrate examples of staircases, beyond this point, would be useless, especially as for the balustrades, wood was frequently replaced by wrought iron and for the stairs, by stone, especially in houses of importance. To show these would carry us beyond the scope of our material as well as of the period to which this book is confined.

Chapter IX.

Wood Panellings and Mantels.

THE wainscotting of the walls of rooms, in secular houses, with wood, appears to be an innovation of the later years of the fifteenth century. It is difficult to date any woodwork other than by its decorative features, and it is, therefore, only possible to say that the earliest types of wainscotting consist of narrow vertical boards, overlapping on their edges, or "clinker-built,"—to use the shipwright's term,—fastened to the walls with large clout-headed nails. This clinker-boarding is seldom of more than dado-height and usually has a half-round or simple moulded capping (see Figs. 266 and 267).

The next stage in the evolution is a framing of styles and rails, tenoned, mortised and pinned at the joints, with panels fixed in grooves. In the first examples of this kind there are top and bottom, but no intermediate rails, and the panels are moulded on their face, with either an embryonic or an actual linen-folding (see Fig. 260). From this to the small panel, with intermediate rails, is a rapid step, and the pattern of the linenfold develops at the same time.

It may be worth while to speculate as to the reasons why oak panellings make their appearance at such a late stage in the history of English woodwork as almost the end of the fifteenth century, and why they begin with crude clinker-boardings, evolving, only at a later stage, into properly framed panellings. It is impossible to imagine that they introduce the tenoned-and-mortised framing into English carpentry; we know, especially in the case of Church woodwork, that framing was known and practised centuries before. Thus, in the door, Fig. 256, which is not later than about 1320, the outer framing is constructed with tenons and mortises, secured to the vertical back-boarding with large iron nails. This example has more the appearance of a section of panelling than of a door; with the necessary duplication, a room could easily have been wainscotted with the repetition of this pattern. Framed panellings, therefore, were potential possibilities as early as the first years of the fourteenth century, yet none appear to have been made for at least a century and a half afterwards. There must be a reason for this, and, in all probability, there are several.

In the first place, the ecclesiastical establishments led the way in luxury and refinement, until the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and it is in clerical houses

that one would look for early examples of panellings. But here, as a rule, there was nothing between the vast refectory, or nave, and the small room or closet. In the former, with walls of stone, often enriched with columns or arcadings, panellings would be impossible, and in the latter, a much more decorative and efficient wall-covering was at hand, in tapestries or Arras hangings. Had the art of the tapestry-weaver not been so appreciated, and fostered, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there is little doubt that panellings would have made a much earlier appearance than they actually did.

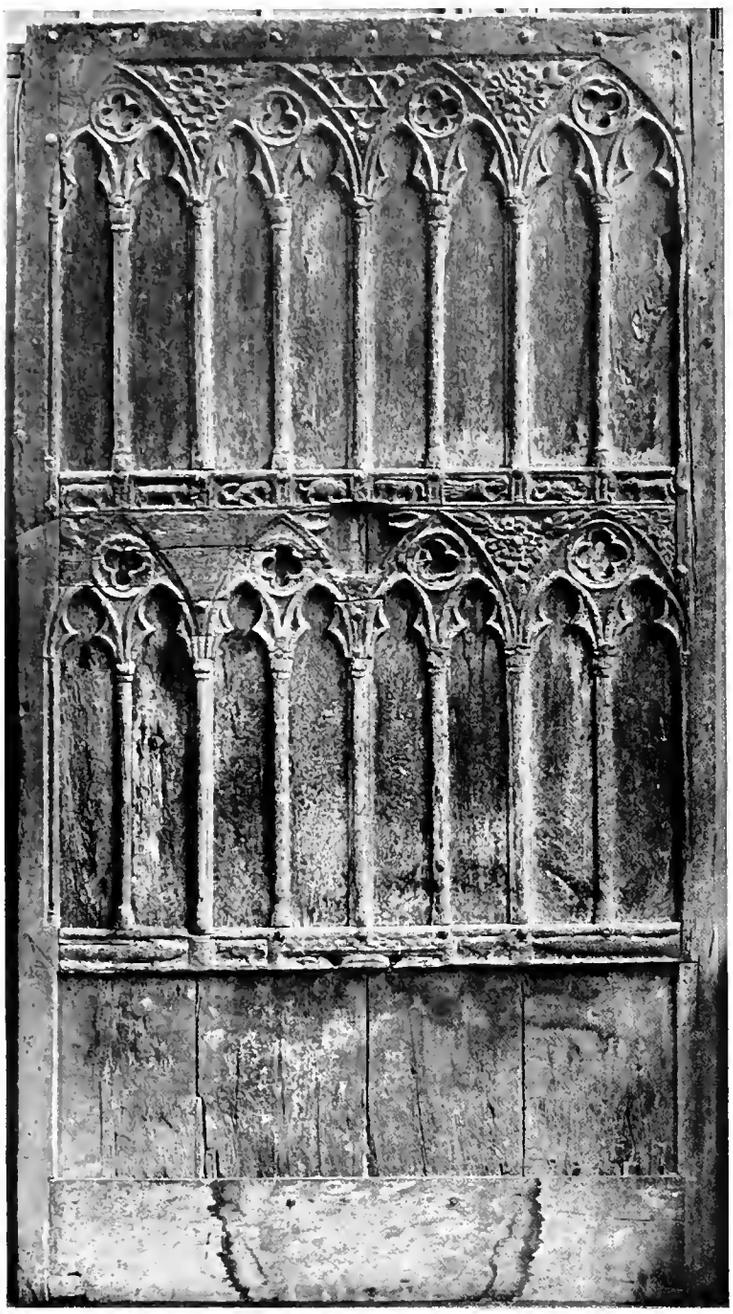


Fig. 256.
OAK DOOR.

7 ft. 6 ins. high by 4 ft. 1½ ins. wide.
Late thirteenth or fourteenth century.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

From the will of William of Wykeham we get an idea of the furnishings of an opulent and luxury-loving prelate at the close of the fourteenth century. To the Bishop of London, Robert Braybrooke, he leaves the whole suite of the tapestry hangings from his palace at Winchester, and there is no doubt that the walls of all the principal rooms, including the bedchamber, were hung in this manner. So much for the high clergy of this date.

Royal palaces were similarly furnished, and there is a great probability that

tapestries, chiefly from France and the Low Countries, were the usual wall-coverings, in rich houses, at the commencement of the fifteenth century.

With the Great Hall, of vast size, and often stone-built, the bareness of walls would not be keenly felt, and the smaller rooms were nearly always Arras-hung, as we know from contemporary records. With timber buildings, however, where spaces between the oak studs were filled with clay and chopped straw on a rough willow lathing, finished off with a skin of plaster, wooden panellings became almost a logical necessity, in the absence of tapestries. That many decorations in imitation of tapestries, such as painted hangings of linen or canvas were used, we know from numerous records and inventories, where references to "painted" or "steynid cloths" are frequent. Thus, in the second part of King Henry IV, Mistress Quickly says: "By this heavenly ground I tread on, I must be fain to pawn both my plate and the *tapestry of my dining chambers*"; to which Falstaff replies, "Glasses, glasses, is the only drinking; and for thy walls, a pretty slight drollery, the story of the Prodigal, or the German hunting in water-work, is

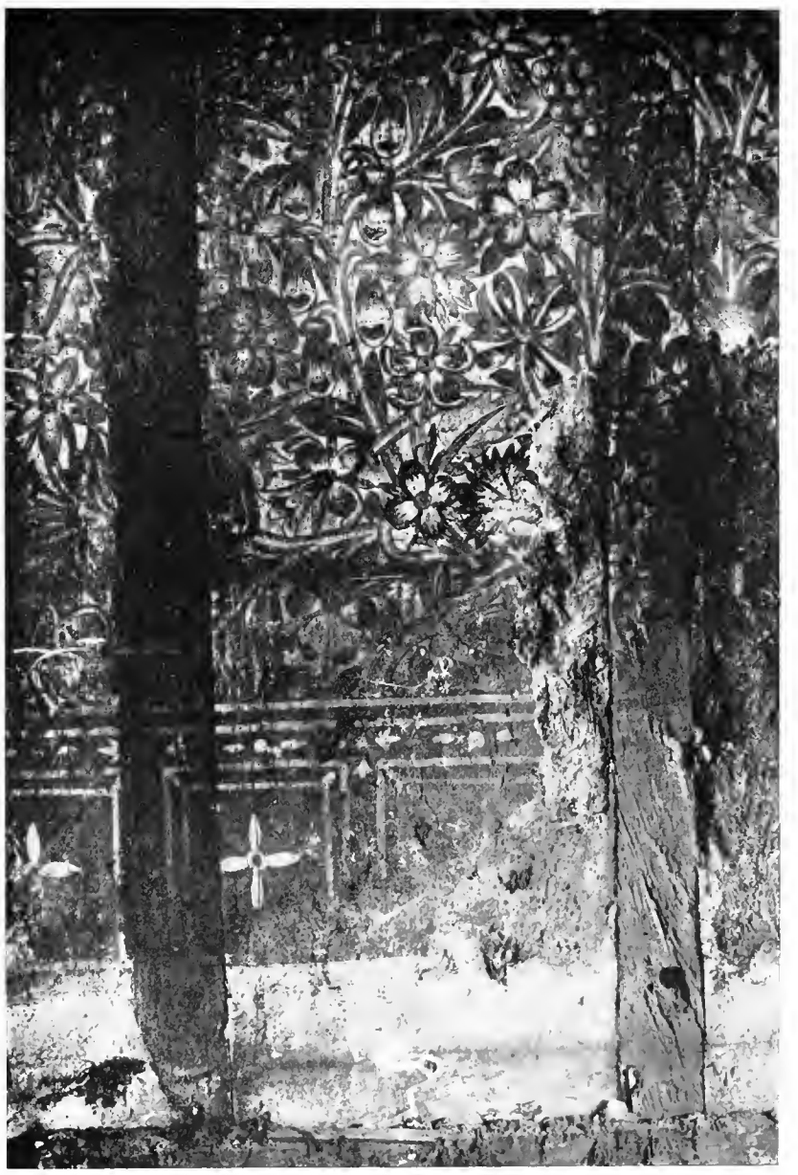


Fig. 257.
PORTION OF PAINTED DECORATION ON PLASTER BETWEEN STUDDINGS.

Late sixteenth century.

Colchester Museum.

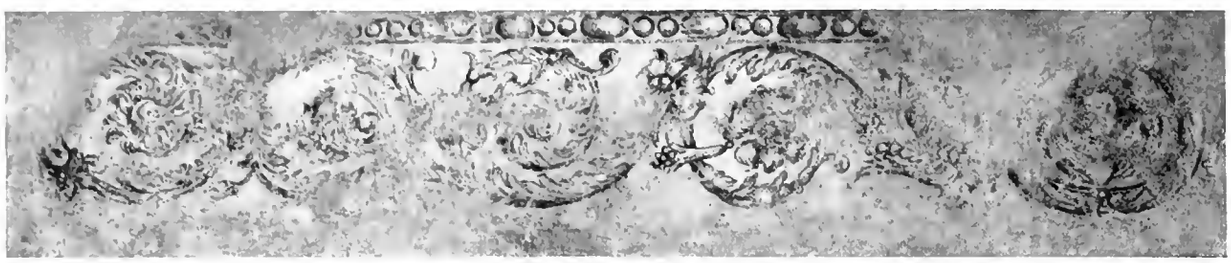


Fig. 258.
PAINTED FRIEZE ON PLASTER.
Date about 1040. 1 ft. 6½ ins. high by 7 ft. 4 ins. long. Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 259.
PAINTED WALL DECORATION ON PLASTER.
9 ft. 3 ins. high by 2 ft. wide.
Late sixteenth century.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

worth a thousand of these bed-hangings and *these fly-bitten tapestries.*" It is doubtful whether Shakespeare was not taking a liberty with probabilities in this speech of Mistress Quickly, as tapestries would not have been used as wall-hangings in the dining-room of an inn, but with these painted cloths, in "water-work," he would have been well acquainted, as they must have been in general use, to hide walls of timber and plaster, in the late sixteenth century.

Crude wall paintings, usually executed in flat oil colour, must also have been usual, especially in the eastern counties of England. With subsequent panelling, whitewashing or modern paper-hanging, it is not remarkable that few have been discovered, but there is reason to suppose that in Essex and Suffolk they were general, in the fifteenth-century timber house of the lesser class.

An example, from Colchester Museum, is shown here in Fig. 257, by the courtesy of Mr. Guy Maynard. This was discovered behind wall-paper and deal panelling at Hill House on North Hill, Colchester, in 1910, by Mr. Thomas Parkington of Ipswich, who presented it to the Museum. Every wall of the room was decorated in this way, on a thin coating of plaster spread over the rough "wattle-and-daub" between the oak studs. Mural decorations of this kind were, possibly, used to

cover the plaster, in the interior of timber houses, at a very early date. When a timber house is demolished, no care is taken, for obvious reasons, to strip the whitewash or paper to the bare plaster, and numbers of these painted walls must have been hacked down. The Colchester Museum example is very late in the sixteenth century, and is painted in nine colours, black, yellow, orange, red, brown, violet, pale blue, pale green and dark green.[1] The cruder, and possibly, earlier examples are usually in black and white, having the appearance of stencils, but drawn with the free hand. At Saffron Walden Museum is a portion of a wall of studding and plaster where the monotone design has considerable decorative merit.

Figs. 258 and 259 are from the Victoria and Albert Museum. The first is a frieze or band, in the pure Italian manner of the later sixteenth century, probably imitating the fresco paintings of that time, or the embossed and painted leathers which were only used in important houses. It would hardly be expected that these mural decorations

[1] "On some early domestic decorative wall-paintings recently found in Essex." Miller Christy and Guy Maynard. Essex Archæological Society, *Trans.*, Vol. XII.

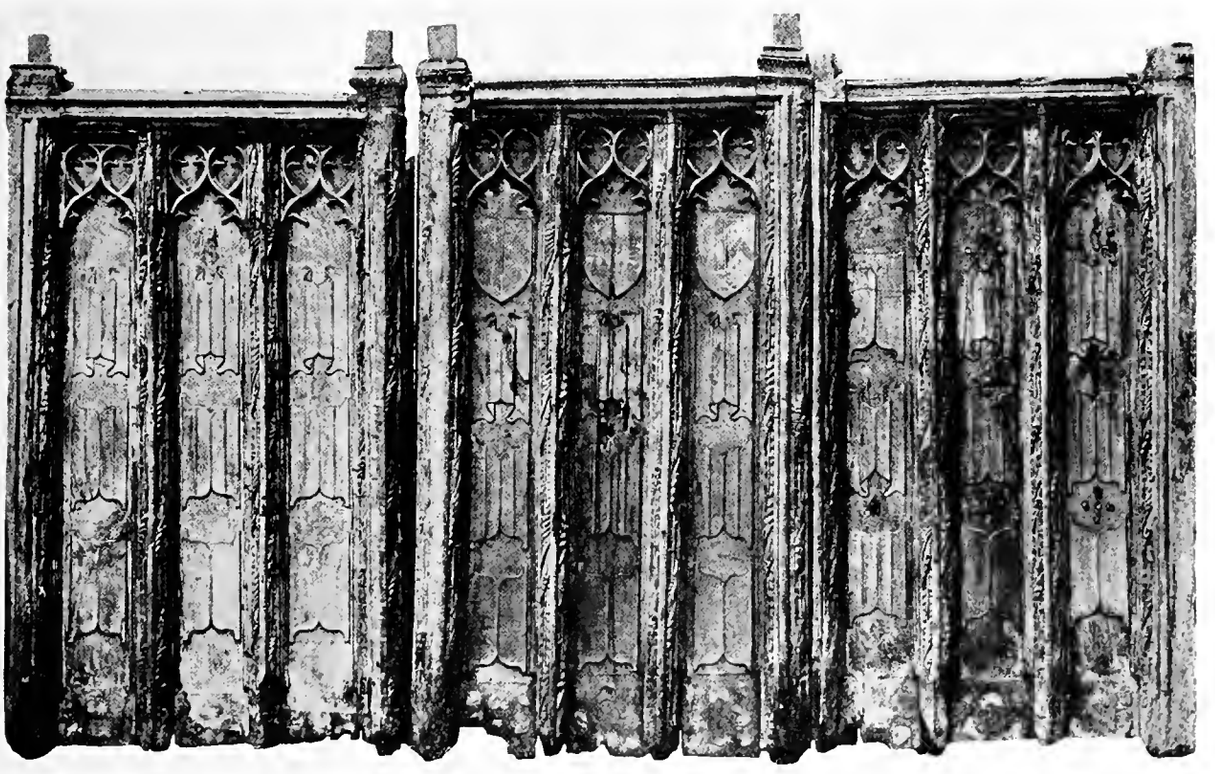


Fig. 260.
PORTION OF OAK GREAT HALL SCREEN.

See Fig. 261. Late fifteenth century. Mrs. D'Oyley.

would be as early as their models, or, in many cases, that they would be as old as the houses in which they are found. This frieze is of about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is executed with considerable artistic skill.

Fig. 259 is earlier,—from the late sixteenth century, and cruder in every way. Here the model is the tapestry cartoon, and the inspiration still Italian, but strongly permeated by Flemish influence, as one would expect at this period.

That painted cloths,—in imitation of the lordly tapestry,—or mural paintings, were the usual attempts, in timber houses of the poorer class, to relieve the bareness of wood and plaster, there is little doubt, and that these substitutes were employed long after panellings came into general use in the more opulent secular houses, is equally certain. Wainscotting of oak must have been an expensive luxury at all times, although, in some of the older farmhouses in Kent, it is not exceptional to find the principal living-room clinker-boarded, in the primitive manner of the late fifteenth century. Whether these boardings have a claim to such antiquity is doubtful.

There is another point in connection with panellings which must not be forgotten,

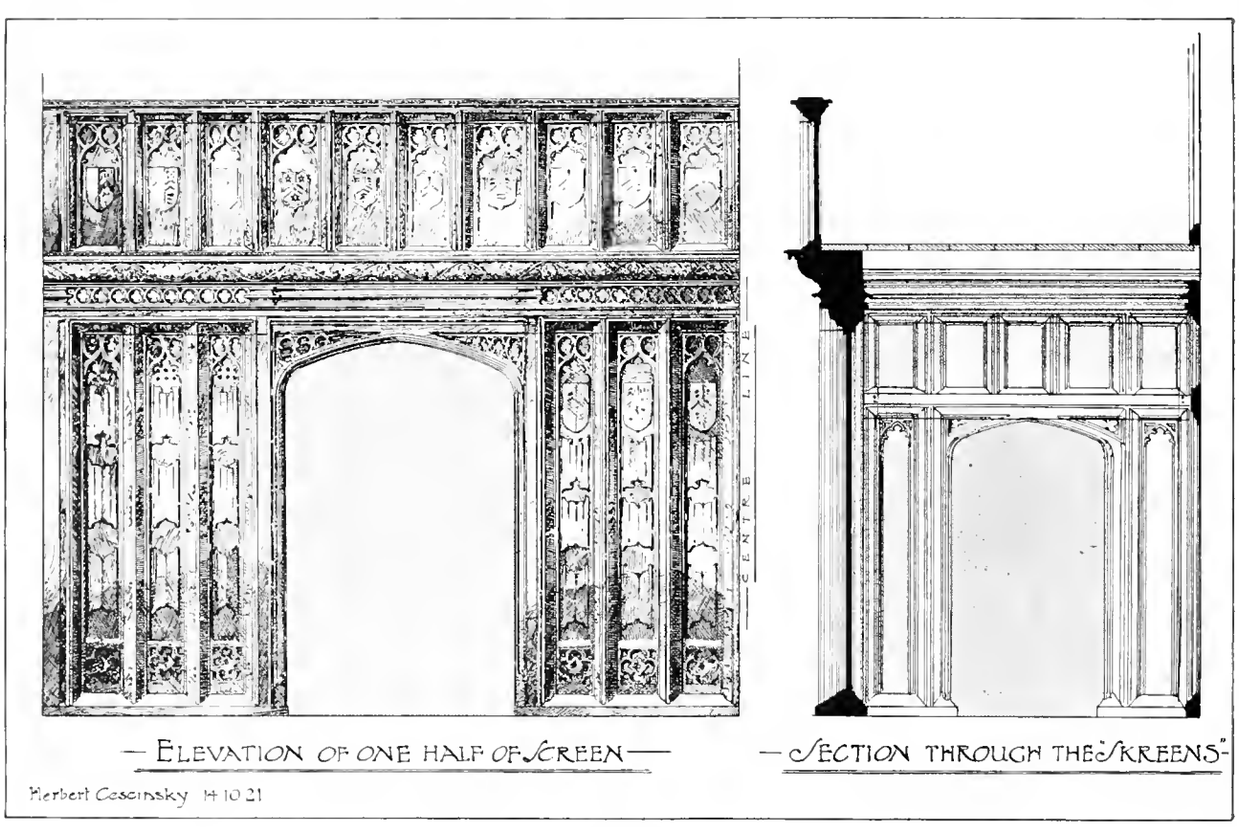


Fig. 261.
SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT HALL SCREEN, FIG. 260.

as it had, no doubt, a great effect in retarding their evolution. The oak timber of the fifteenth century was rarely seasoned, as we understand the term at the present day. Oak was often used, as in roof timbers, in such large scantling, that to dry each baulk thoroughly would have taken many years, even if it had been possible at all. We can see, from an examination of the sag and warp in many of these large timbers, that the wood was by no means dry when it was used. It was often quartered, and carefully selected, but it was left to season in situ. Thin panels must have presented some difficulties in this respect; it was impossible to have used "green" panel-stuff, as it would have warped and split after a few months. It is also probable that the makers of panellings were not on the same plane as the carpenters who were responsible for Church woodwork, and seasoned oak, in thin boards, may not have been at their service until late in the fifteenth century, especially if intended for secular use. Thin panels of oak are to be found in the bases of chancel screens, and these must have been carefully seasoned, or the figures of Saints, which were frequently painted on them, would have perished long since. In fact, for nearly a century before wall-panellings appear, they exist, potentially, in dry oak of panel-thickness and in a knowledge of framing with tenoned and mortised joints, coupled with a real purpose to be

Fig. 262.

OAK LINENFOLD PANELLING FROM COGWORTHY FARM, YARNSCOMBE, NEAR BARNSTAPLE.

Early sixteenth century.

Fig. 265.
VERTICALLY MOULDED WITH CARVED ENDS.
Early sixteenth century doors from Lavenham, Suffolk.

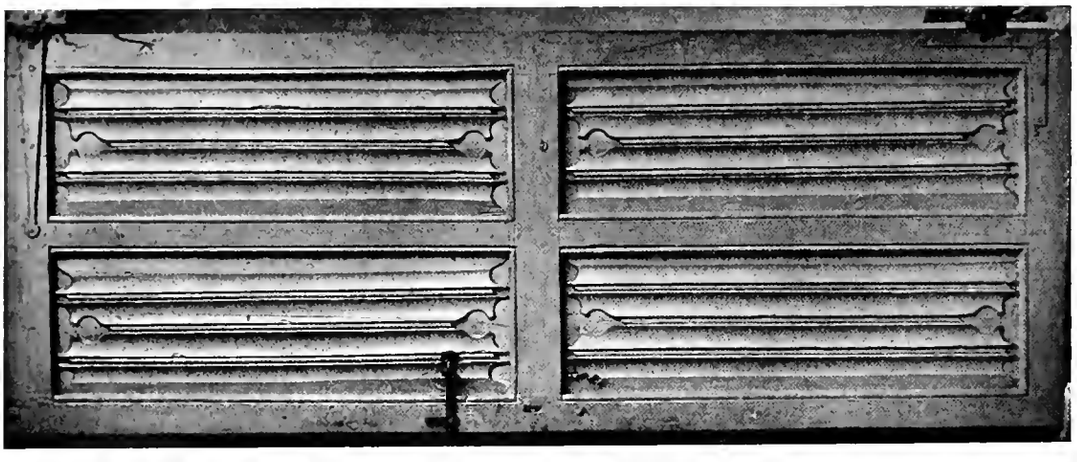


Fig. 264.
TRUE LINENFOLD.

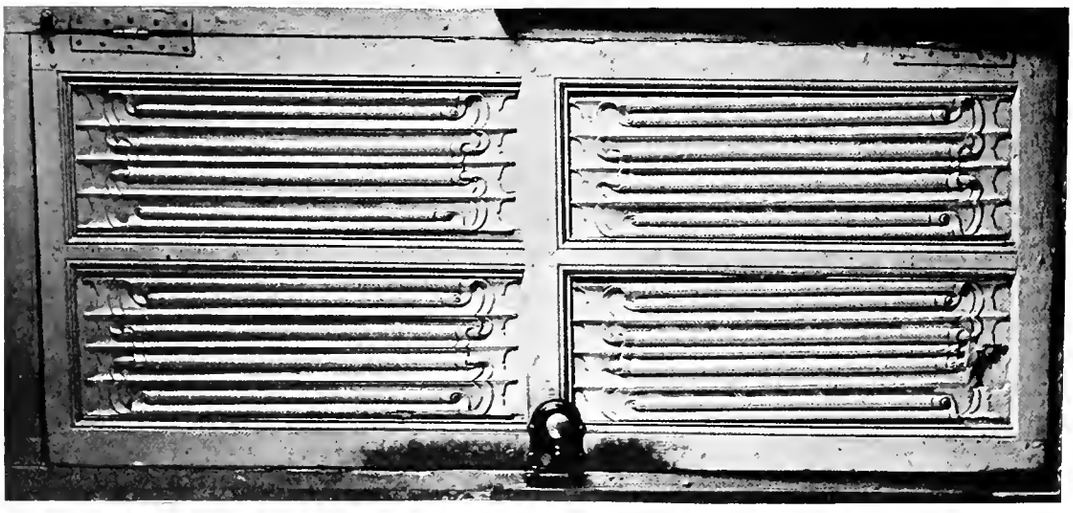


Fig. 263.

Fig. 266.

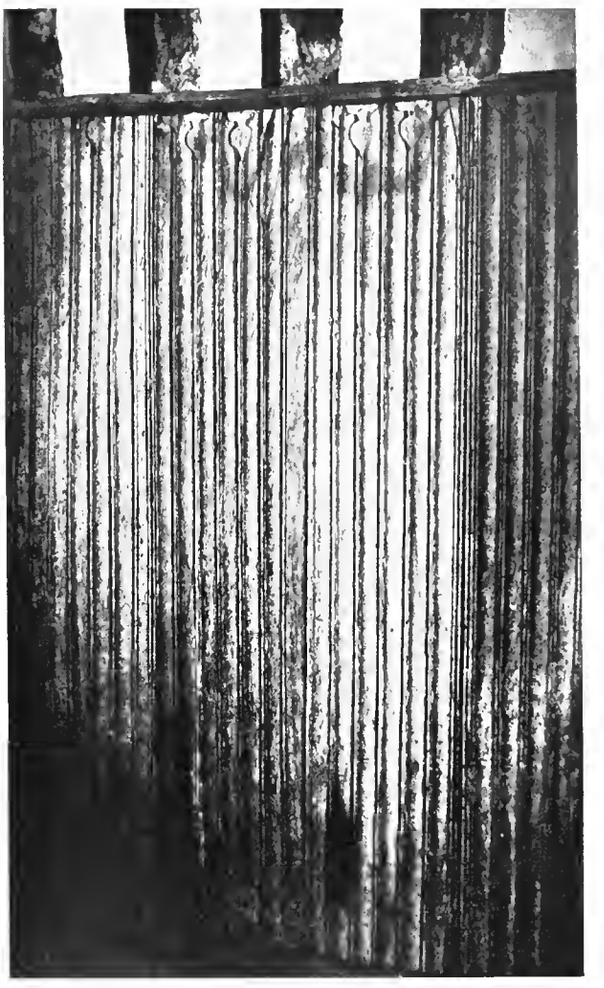


Fig. 267.

LAVENHAM GUILD HALL, THE PORCH.

Oak moulded wainscotting.
Late fifteenth century.

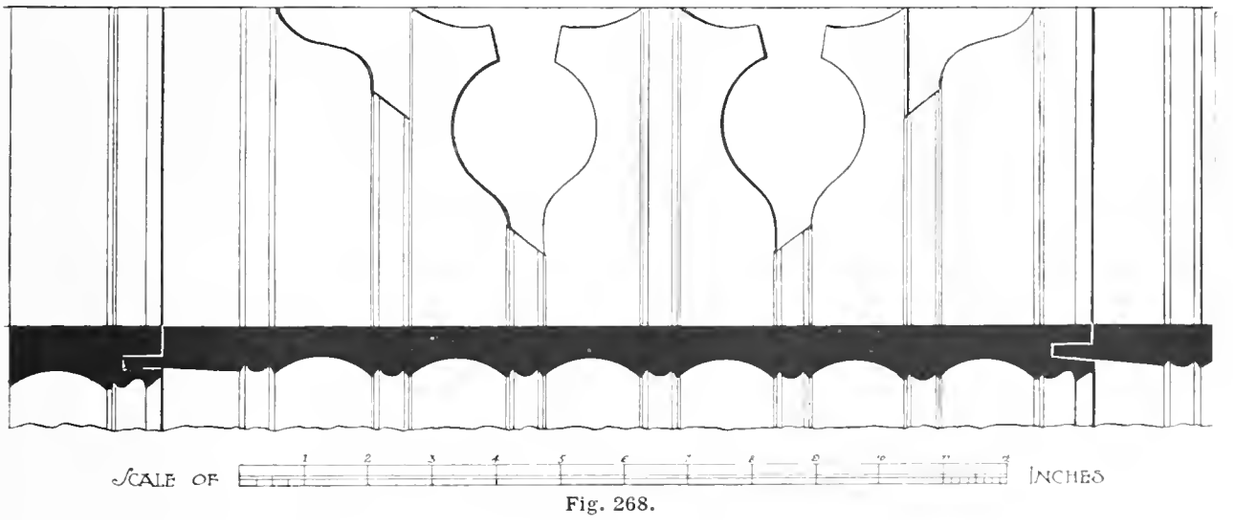


Fig. 268.

SECTIONAL DETAIL OF THE OAK WAINSCOTTING ABOVE.

served in relieving the bareness of walls of stone or timber and plaster. As will be remarked later on, in the instance of the development of the chest or coffer, there is every reason to believe that a new and lesser class of woodworkers,—the huchers, or box-makers,—arose at the close of the fifteenth century, and they were, probably, the makers of the first wainscotting in secular houses. The carpenter was still responsible for the structural timber work, and was employed for the high-class interior joinery in wealthy houses.

The late fifteenth-century Great Hall screen, a fragment of which is shown in

Fig. 269.

OAK-PANELLED ROOM FROM PAYCOCKES, COGGESHALL, ESSEX.

Late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Noel Buxton, Esq.

Fig. 260, is a typical example of high-grade carpentry of its period. This photograph was taken before it was restored, beyond recognition as a Great Hall screen, by a former West-country joiner of greater vigour than knowledge. As it is illustrated here, it is not difficult to reconstruct it, in imagination, and in Fig. 261 it is shown in its hypothetically original state.

The design is typical of its period, and the work is of high quality. Originally from the Old Manor House of Brightleigh, N. Devon, the shields in the central portion are painted with the arms of Gifford. The three stages of the linenfold pattern, from the simple to the elaborate, are shown in each panel. Even in the state as illustrated here, the screen shows evidences of restoration. Thus the left-hand panel of the right-hand section is reversed, with the simple form at the top, instead of the bottom, as in every other instance. That the central fragment is only one-half of the original (as suggested in the drawing) is shown by the fact that the right-hand muntin is, really, a complete central mullion, in which case three panels are missing. The left-hand portion shows the commencement of the springing of the door-arch. The reverse side of the screen is nearly as elaborate as the one shown here, and this, in conjunction with the small spy-holes in the upper portion of the last two panels, show, conclusively, that it was a Great Hall screen in its original state. The panels and mullions have rotted at their bases, and the threshold has perished.

Many theories have been advanced as to the origin of the linenfold in the decoration of panels. It has been suggested, with some plausibility, that the device may have been

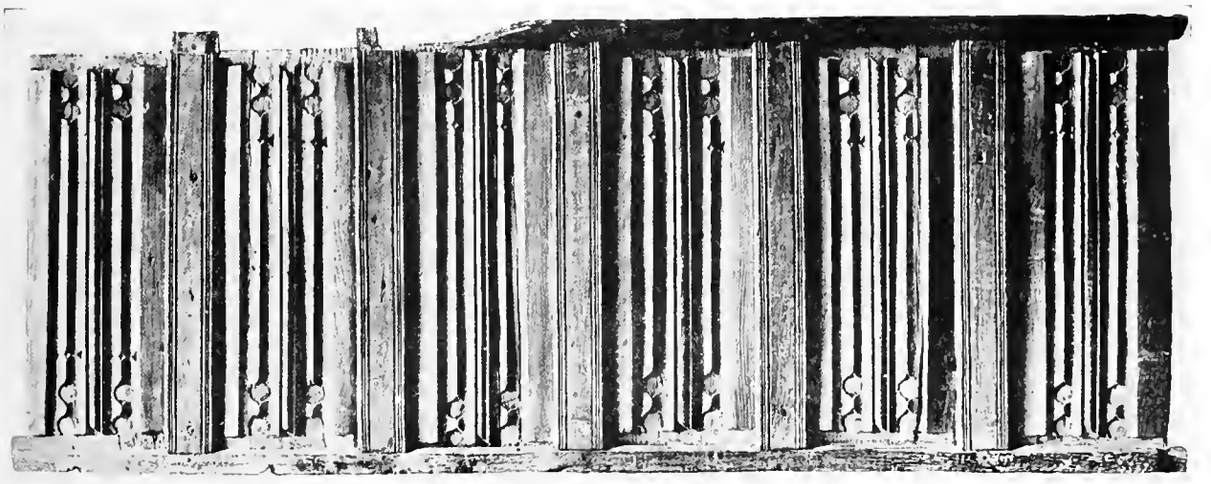


Fig. 270.

OAK MOULDED PANELLING.

Late fifteenth century

copied from the curling of the parchment, which was frequently glued to the backs of painted panels to stiffen them, and as some security against cracking. Parchment, being somewhat of a greasy nature, would not adhere readily to an oak panel, and would have a tendency to curl up from its outside edges, and thus present the form of a simple linenfold. Decorative devices of this kind, however, have nearly always a useful basis, and it is more reasonable to suppose that the first panels were made with a central stiffening ridge (as in Fig. 223) which developed, gradually, into the vertical moulded panel, and from thence, by carving at each end, the folding and curling of linen was imitated as a form of ornament. There is no doubt that, by its use, especially as the sawing of panel stuff was not performed with any great degree of accuracy at this period, a thin panel acquired a stability which it would not, otherwise, have possessed. The

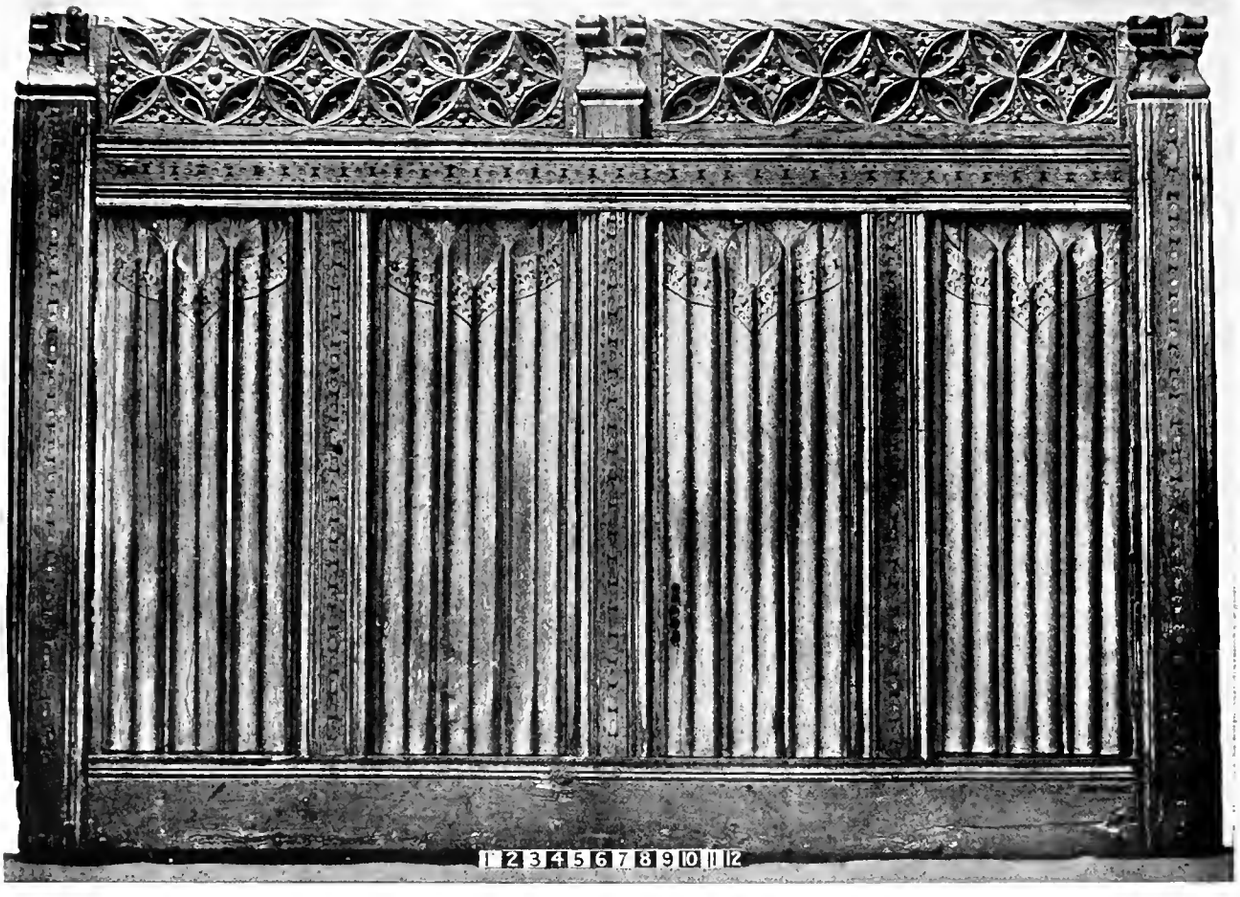


Fig. 271.

OAK PANELLING FROM A FARMHOUSE AT KINGSTONE, NEAR TAUNTON (NOW DESTROYED).

3 ft. $2\frac{5}{8}$ ins. high by 4 ft. $7\frac{3}{8}$ ins. wide.
Late fifteenth century.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

sawing of thin wood must have been a task of some difficulty, even in the early seventeenth century. It is by no means unusual to find panels, as late as 1640, riven instead of sawn, and rubbed smooth on their external faces only.

The term "linenfold" should not be used to describe these early vertically-moulded panels, even when the ends of the alternate rib-and-hollow are cut into decorative shapes. Thus Figs. 262 and 263 are typical linenfold patterns, whereas Figs. 264 and 265 are not. Actually, in the progression of types, the true linenfold is the later, but this does not necessarily imply that vertically-moulded panels are, in reality, earlier in date than those carved in the representation of folds of linen, but merely that the original type persists, and overlaps with the later one. There are two kinds of moulded wainscotting which are nearly always of the fifteenth, rarely of the sixteenth century; both of a primitive type which does not continue for many years. The first and the earliest, is a form of wainscotting, without framing, where the vertical boards are moulded, usually with ridge, hollow and quirk-bead in succession, half-lapped, with rebates at the joins, and fixed to the walls, generally with nails, giving the appearance of one large moulded panel to each side of the room, the quirk-beads rendering the lap-joints, more or less, invisible. An example of this kind can be seen in Lavenham Guild Hall, Figs. 266, 267 and 268. The

Fig. 272.

OAK DOORS.

Early sixteenth century.

Albert Cubitt, Esq.

Fig. 273.

OAK PANELLING.

The type which was used concurrently with the linenfold patterns.

Early sixteenth century.

W. Smedley Aston, Esq.

boarding is stiffened by a capping rail and a small skirting, neither of which is original, here. When the term "wainscotting" is used, in documents of the fifteenth century, it is usually this method of boarding which is implied.

The other early type is shown in the room from Paycockes, Fig. 269. Here the panels are high, divided only by one central rail, the mouldings a succession of hollows and sharp ribs, spear-pointed at top and bottom. This kind of decorative panelling gives a greater appearance of height to a low room than it actually possesses. The small scratch-mouldings, on the styles and rails, in this panelling, are generally mason's-mitred, that is, the rails are butted square into the styles and the mouldings turned and mitred with the carver's gouge, to meet those on the vertical muntins, in the stone-mason's fashion. Occasionally, but rarely, these high moulded panels are merely cut off square, to allow of them being grooved into the framing, with the projecting ribs merely chamfered off so as not to project, unduly, over the framing-mouldings.

Fig. 270 is an interesting fragment, as the breakage shows the construction quite clearly. Only the vertical styles are scratch-moulded; the rails are square on the lower and bevelled on their upper edges, with the muntins scribed over them. It will be seen, that with the rebating of the vertical mouldings at the top and bottom, to allow of the insertion of the panel in its grooves, the flat fillet which flanks each panel necessitates square-sectioned rails, so as not to overhang in sharp butt-edges.

Fig. 271 has many characteristics which indicate the late fifteenth century, apart from the geometrical ornament of the capping rail. The panels are moulded, in the form of creased parchment tubes, cut at the top end only in a sharp chamfer to heighten the illusion. The panel projects at the bottom over the base-moulding.

It is possible that this system of stiffening panels with vertical ribs may have originated in quite a simple way. Early panels are generally stout and of uneven thickness, especially when the wood is riven instead of sawn. To reduce to an equal gauge at the outer edges, to allow of their insertion in framing-grooves, these panels were chamfered, at the back, this being easier than attempting to reduce the entire panel to an even thickness. The same method is followed at the present day, but in the early panels, these chamfers are, frequently, so flat, that those worked vertically, or with the grain, meet in the panel centre at the back, in a rib. It would be noticed that this method resulted in a marked stiffening of the panel, as compared with one of even

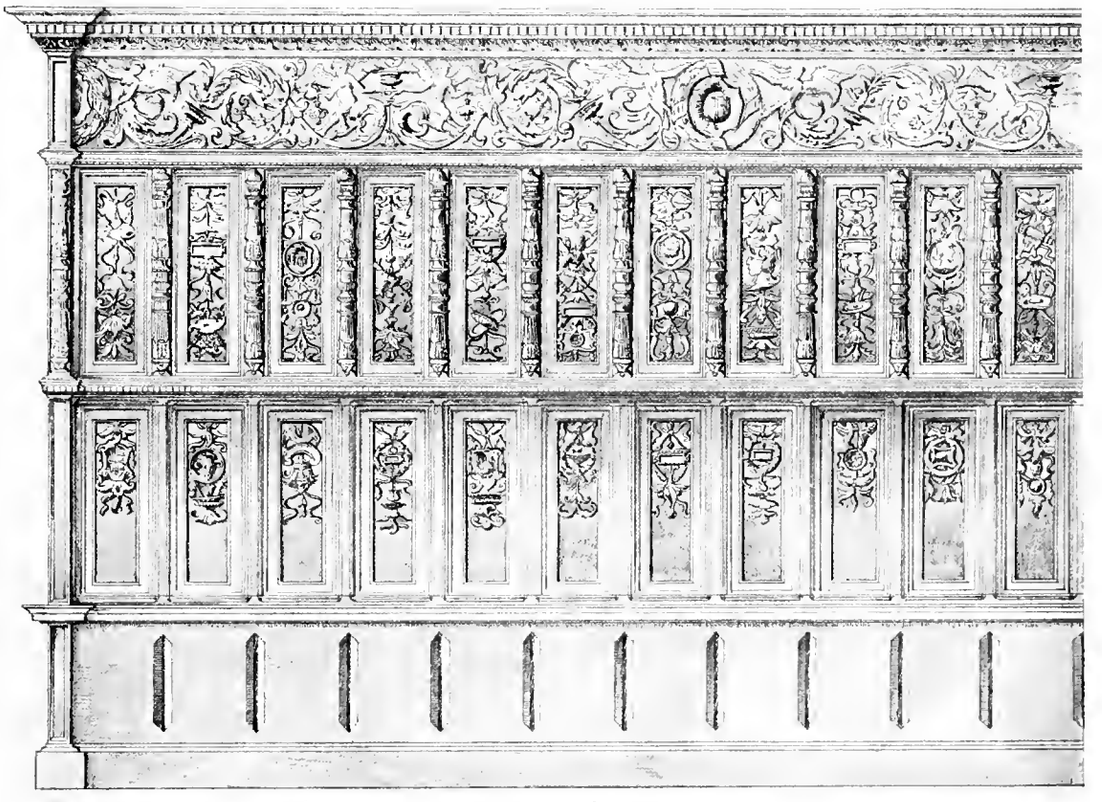


Fig. 274.

PANELLING IN THE AISLE OF THE CHURCH OF ST. VINCENT, ROUEN.

Showing the influence which affected the panelling in England of the period of Henry VIII.
Early sixteenth century.

From a drawing by Herbert Cescinsky.

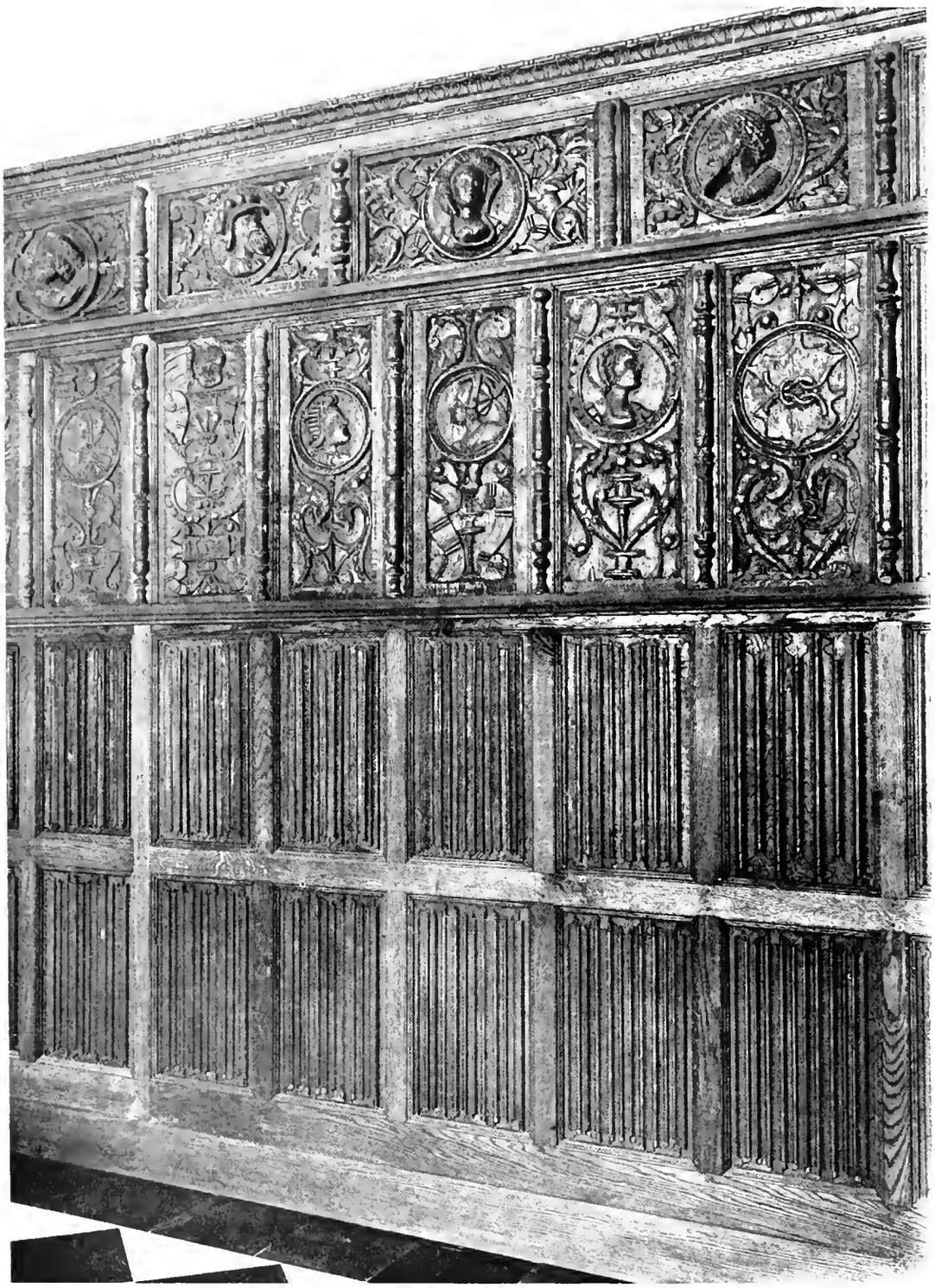


Fig. 275.
OAK PANELLING.
Date about 1520–40.

Great Fulford, Devon.

thickness throughout and the idea would probably occur to put this ridge on the front of the panel, and to make it an ornamental device. Boxford door, Fig. 223, shows that some such evolution must actually have taken place, as the rib here is hardly a decoration at all. This central ridging also develops in another direction, in that of the parchemin panel, Figs. 272 and 273. Here the ribs, instead of being taken through and carved, at their extreme ends, in such devices as the curls of folding linen, are diverted, in ogival form, to the corners of the panels. The result is a broad diaper effect, the patterns being broken only by the styles and the rails. The space left by the double ribs, in shape similar to the vertical section of an aubergine, Fig. 272, was decorated in a variety of ways, by ten-

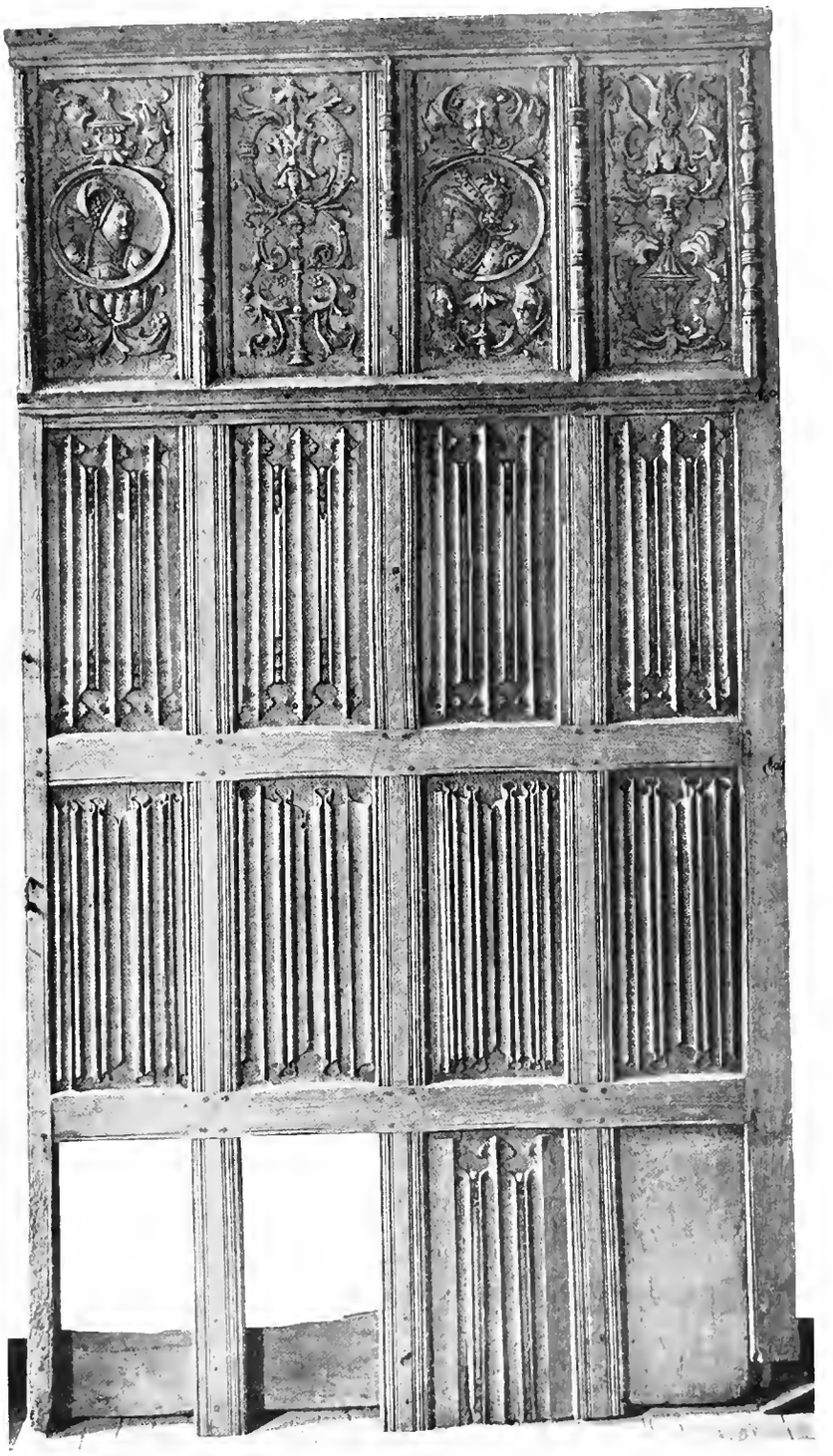


Fig. 276.
OAK PANELLING.
Early sixteenth century.

Fig. 278. OAK PANELLING FROM A HOUSE AT WALTHAM.
Early sixteenth century.
(1520).
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 277.

drils of vine and bunches of grapes, by cusping, as in Fig. 273, or with purely Renaissance ornament. That the parchemin, and the vertically-moulded panel of the linenfold description, both have a common origin, in the decorative use of a central rib, is almost certain.

The moulded and the linenfold panels occur, during the early sixteenth century, in conjunction with Renaissance motives, sometimes the linenfold being used for the lower and the cartouche and Italian ornament for the upper tiers of panels.

The subject of the introduction of the Italian Renaissance into England is a complicated one. That the first notable expression of this manner was the tomb of Henry VII

Fig. 279.

OAK PANELLING FROM A HOUSE AT WALTHAM.

Enlarged detail. Early sixteenth century.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 280.
THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM FROM WALTHAM.
Early sixteenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum.

in the Chapel of which bears his name, the style was unbefore, is doubtful. jected before the in 1509, although not eight years later. cenary soldier of rigiano—or Peter styled in England, to the King's own Pageny,—this tomb as the first Royal style. The Renaisreaches England manners of other Devon, parts of Sussex, and especihood of Rye, many sance ornament can woodwork of the first sixteenth century, of France is unmisof commerce or of France were in close

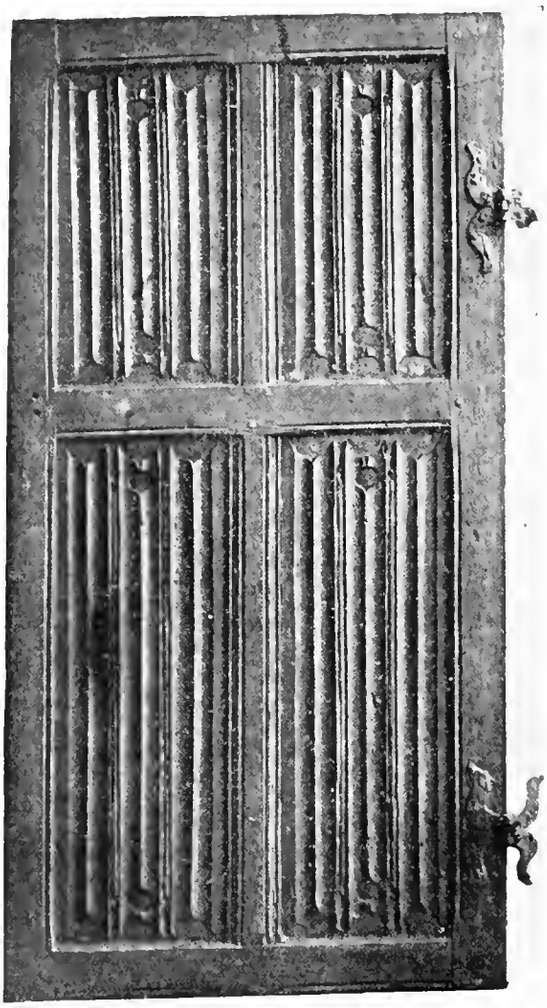


Fig. 281.
DOOR OF THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM FROM WALTHAM.
Early sixteenth century.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Westminster Abbey, is probable, but that known in England This tomb was prodeath of Henry VII finished until some The work of a merfortune, Pietro Tor-Torrisany, as he was who was preferred craftsman, Master may be regarded patronage of the new sance of Italy, here, uninfluenced by the countries, but in Hampshire and ally in the neighbourexamples of Renaisbe found, in oak year or two of the where the influence takable. In matters warfare, England and relationship during

nearly the whole of the fifteenth century. It is, therefore, not surprising to find, that, whereas with Torrigiano the Italian ornament was introduced direct, it also permeated through France into England at a later, and possibly at a somewhat earlier date, independently of the work of Italian craftsmen or designers.

There are two other developments of the Renaissance which are worthy of notice here. The style also filters through the Low Countries into England, the more refined, the Burgundian or Walloon expression, into the East Anglian counties, and a typically Dutch or Flemish interpretation being adopted by the midland counties, Lancashire, Western Yorkshire, parts of Cheshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire and Somerset, and at the close of the sixteenth century, by the Home Counties. This is the strap-and-jewel work of which Aston Hall and Speke Hall may be cited as prominent examples. Thus we have the Renaissance ornament expressed in England, almost at the same period, in four different manners; the pure Italian, the Franco-Italian, the Walloon-

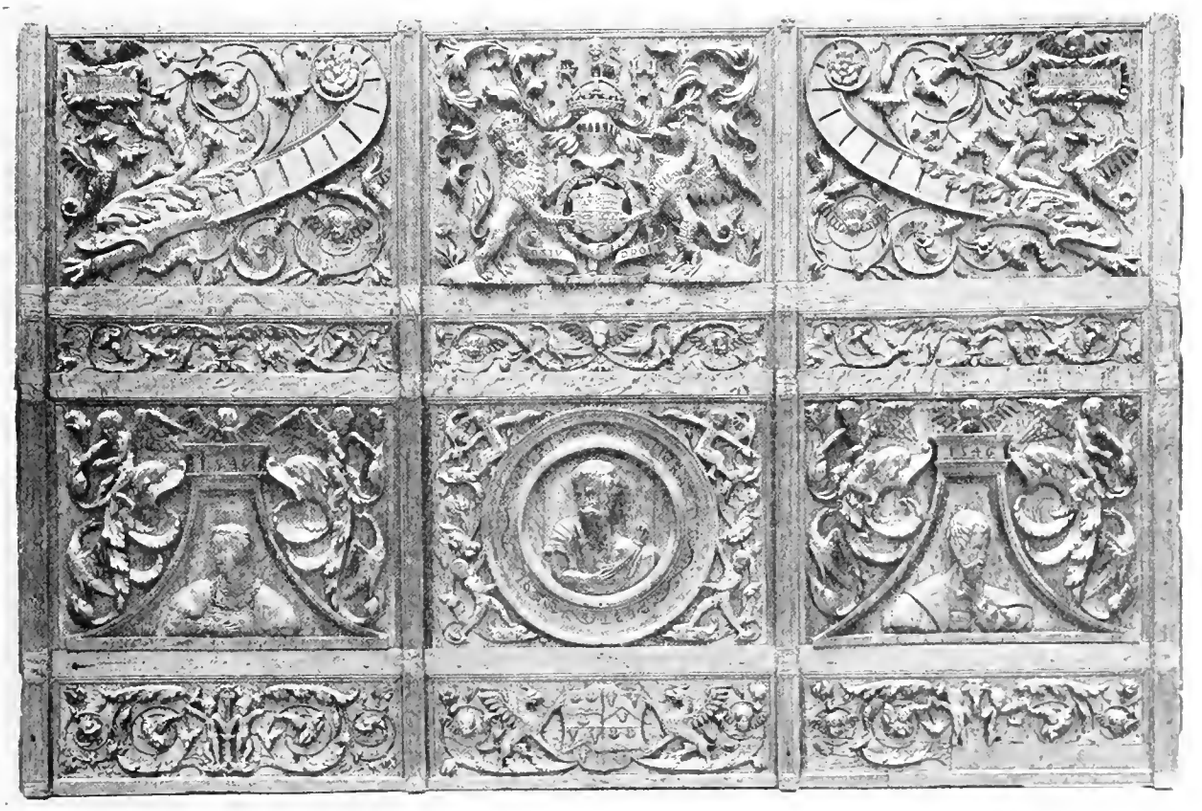


Fig. 282.

OAK PANELLING FROM BECKINGHAM HALL, TOLLESHUNT MAJOR, ESSEX.

6 ft. 4 ins. high by 9 ft. 7 ins. wide.
Dated 1546.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

Italian and the Dutch-Italian. So sharply are these divided, that it is reasonably safe to state, in early examples, that the first is found in work of the London craftsmen, the second in Western Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorset and Devon, the third in Southern Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Eastern Kent, and the fourth in the Midland and Welsh bordering counties. Towards the seventeenth century the several versions of the Italian ornament tend to coalesce, until, at the end of the reign of Elizabeth,—with some marked exceptions,—we get a homogeneous style which may be known as Tudor-Jacobean, with the Dutch-Italian version of the Renaissance markedly in the ascendant. In the examples shown in the following pages, however, these French, Dutch and Walloon, or Burgundian, influences may be traced even in woodwork of the middle or late seventeenth century.

Fig. 274 is given here as an actual example of the French Renaissance, from Rouen, a town which is especially rich in Italian ornament, or in the style known as François Première. Here the panelling is in four distinct stages. The base above the skirting

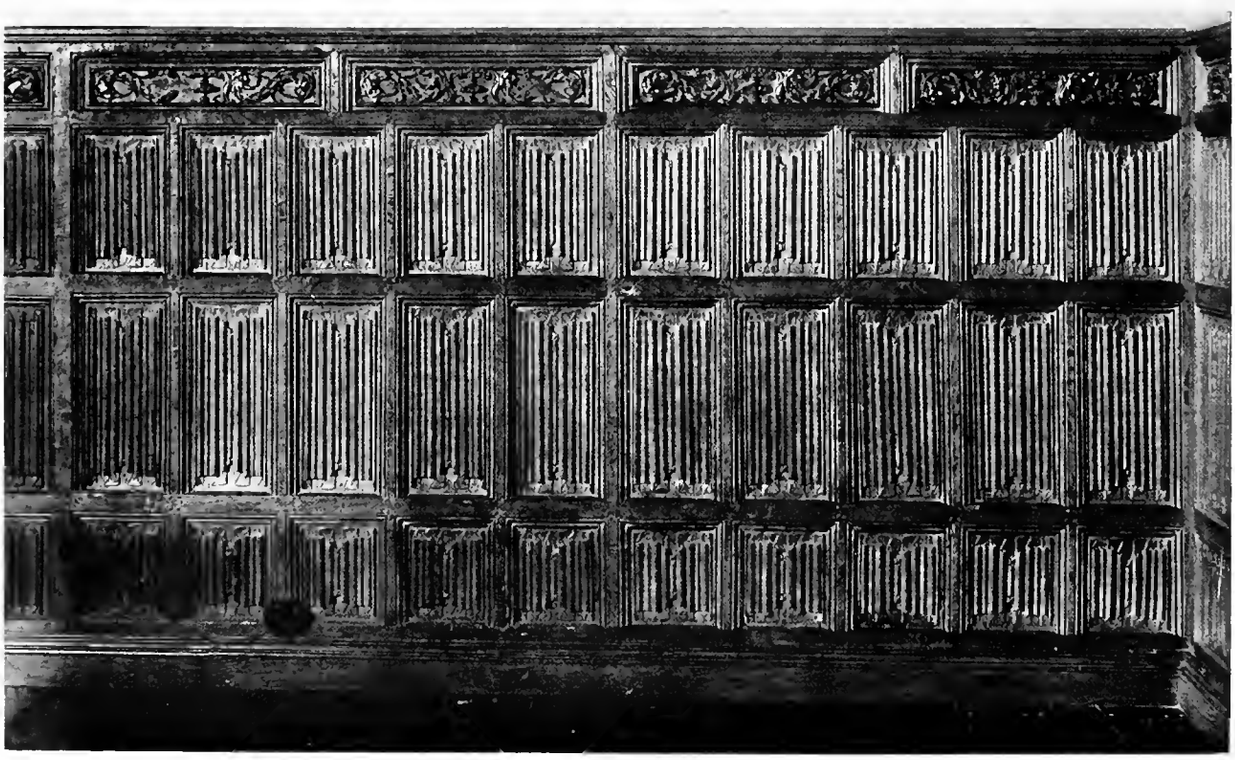


Fig. 283.
OAK LINENFOLD PANELLING.

5 ft. 6½ ins. high.
Mid-sixteenth century.

J. Dupuis Cobbold, Esq.

is V-grooved in line with the styles of the first stage of the panelling above. These lower panels are tall and slender, enriched with the Italian ornament in the upper part only. The devices adopted are cartouches of various shapes, and moulded tablets suspended from ribbons. The tier above has every panel entirely covered with ornament, and half-balusters are fixed to cover each upright muntin. The two stages are divided by a dentilled capping-rail. Above is a broad frieze, carved with a running pattern of foliated scrolls and figures, centred at intervals with laurelled cartouches and bosses carved with initials. No two panels are exactly alike. For excellence of design and execution this panelling from St. Vincent is unrivalled in Rouen, as an expression of the pure Renaissance manner, with the single exception of the work of Jean Goujon in St. Maclou in which another influence, that of Burgundy, is apparent. Although one of the finest, this St. Vincent panelling is by no means the earliest example of the Renaissance in France, reckoned within the narrow limits of a decade or two. The same style is clearly noticeable in the panelling from Great Fulford in Devon, Fig. 275.

Fig. 284.

DETAIL OF THE LINENFOLD PANELLING, FIG. 283.

Frieze sight 25 ins. by 4⅝ ins. Panels 8 ins. wide. Muntins 3 ins.

J. Dupuis Cobbold, Esq.

Much of this has been added to at quite recent date, but enough of the original work remains to show its typically French character. There is the same kind of frieze as at Rouen, but here broken up by half-balusters, which are also used to cover the muntins of the upper tier of panels, in the same way as in the St. Vincent work. The ornament, of circular cartouches, carved with heads and devices, is quite in the French manner with two rows of the English vertically-moulded linenfold panels below. There are

Fig. 285.

THE STUDY PANELLING FROM HOLYWELLS, IPSWICH.

(Ex Tankard Inn).

8 ft. 11 ins. high. Mid-sixteenth century.

J. Dupuis Colbold, Esq.

various dates carved on the original panels, which suggest that the work extended over a period of more than twenty years. The same system of dating has been adopted with the modern additions. Fig. 276 is of the same general style and of about the same date. The variations in the moulding of the three tiers of panels should be noted as an interesting detail. We have seen the same device adopted in the screen, Fig. 260. Above and below, the finish is the spear-head, but the central panels are carved in close representation of the folds of linen. Between the foliated

Fig. 286.
DETAIL OF THE STUDY PANELLING, FIG. 285.

Fig. 287.
DETAIL OF THE PANELLING, FIG. 285.

panels are half-balusters, of semi-octagonal section, scribed at the bottom over the top chamfer of the cross-rail, the upper row of muntins being set back from the rail for that purpose. The ornament of the upper panels is more delicate than in the Fulford wainscotting, suggestive more of the work of Eastern Sussex than of Devonshire. There is little doubt that the panelling from Great Fulford is in its original county, if it was not actually made for the house it is in at present. So much fine woodwork was looted

from churches shortly after 1650, however, that it is unwise to be positive on such points.

The panelling from Waltham, in Essex, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Figs. 277 to 281, may be cited as the pure Italian expression of the Renaissance, almost without influence from either France or the Low Countries. Here the new manner, introduced directly from Italy by Torrigiano in 1509–17, is rendered with great fidelity, but with sufficient of the former Gothic influence remaining,—as in the four upper panels in Fig. 277, and in the first, third and fourth of the same tier in Fig. 278—to establish the fact that some, if not all, of this woodwork is of English make. Numbering the panels from left to right, and from top to bottom, we have from 1 to 12 in Fig. 277, and from 13 to 27 in Fig. 278. Nos. 10, 11 and 12 are shown in larger detail in Fig. 279. A close study of the panels in Figs. 275 and 276 will show the great differences in the inspiration of these, compared with this Waltham panelling. With work as far removed in origin as Sussex or Devonshire on the one hand, and a place which is, at the present day, almost a suburb of London, we would expect to find such marked variation. Of the panels, as numbered above for easy reference, 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 15 and 16 are Italian with strong English influence, whereas 8, 11, 14, 18, 21, 25, 26 and 27 are purely Italian without a trace of French inspiration. That the Italian workmen, brought to this country either by Torrigiano directly, or who followed in his train, may have been responsible for the designing, if not much of the actual work of these panels, is probable, but the design of the door, Fig. 281, is English beyond question.

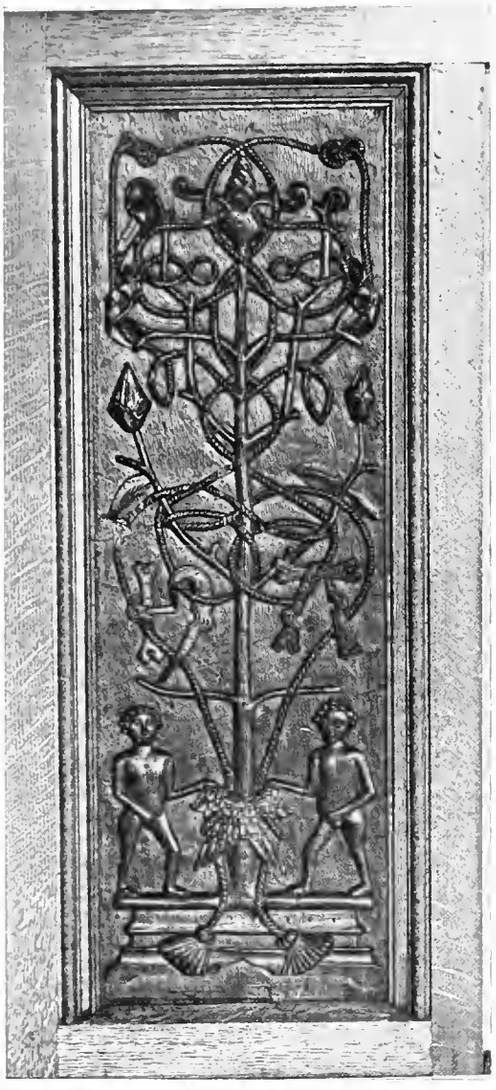


Fig. 288.
DETAIL OF THE PANELLING, FIG. 285.

Of the origin of this elaborate wainscotting, nothing is known with recorded certainty. That the panels were, originally, in Waltham Abbey, is unquestionable. They were removed from

Fig. 289.

OAK PANELLING AND DOOR IN THE STUDY AT HOLYWELLS.

Door panels 11½ ins. by 7½ ins. sight. Overdoor 3 ft. 4 ins. by 1 ft. 9½ ins.
Mid-sixteenth century.

J. Dupuis Cobbold, Esq

a house in the town, to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1889, but it is known that they were taken from the Abbey buildings, when they were demolished in 1760. It is noted that they were purchased by the town at this date, and fitted up in the house from which they were finally taken, when the Museum authorities acquired them. How they came into Waltham Abbey is not so certain. It has been suggested that Robert Fuller, the last abbot, had them made for his lodgings. Fuller was a wealthy prelate, Abbot of Waltham and Prior of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, and his apartments would, undoubtedly, have been sumptuously furnished, but there are evidences, in the panels themselves, which suggest a later date than 1526. In the large detail, Fig. 279, we have the Beaufort portcullis, the Tudor rose, and the chevron

Fig. 290.

MANTEL IN THE STUDY, HOLYWELLS, IPSWICH.

9 ft. 6½ ins. wide over column bases; 8 ft. 11 ins. wide over pilasters; 8 ft. 1¾ ins. sight-size of panel; 2 ft. 6½ ins. height of pilasters; columns 2 ft. 10 ins. to mantelshelf.

Mid-sixteenth century.

J. Dupuis Cobbold, Esq.

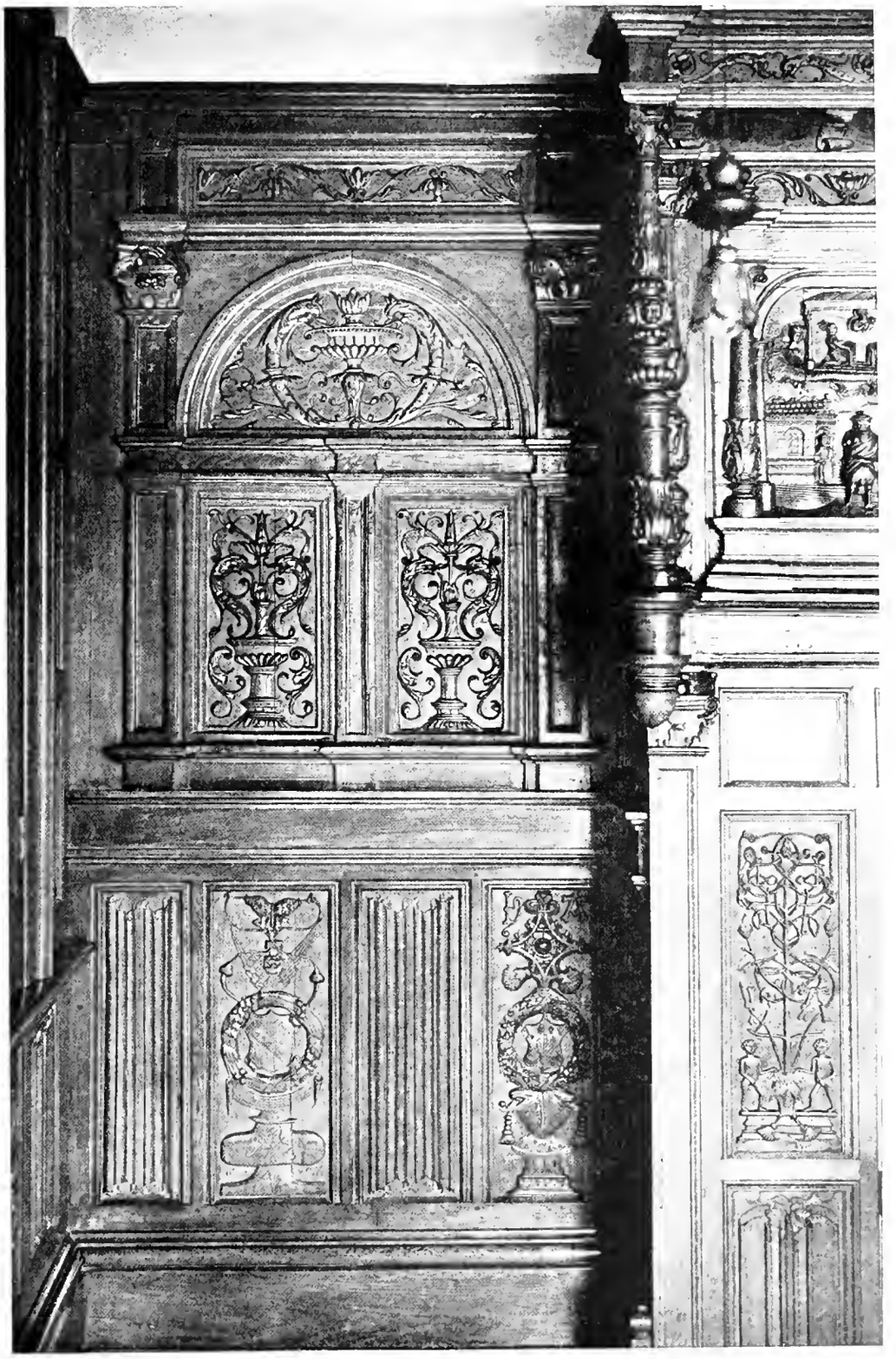


Fig. 291.

OAK PANELLING IN THE STUDY AT HOLYWELLS, IPSWICH.

Lower panels 24¾ ins. by 8½ ins. Upper panels 18½ ins. by 9½ ins. sight.

J. Dupuis Cobbold, Esq.

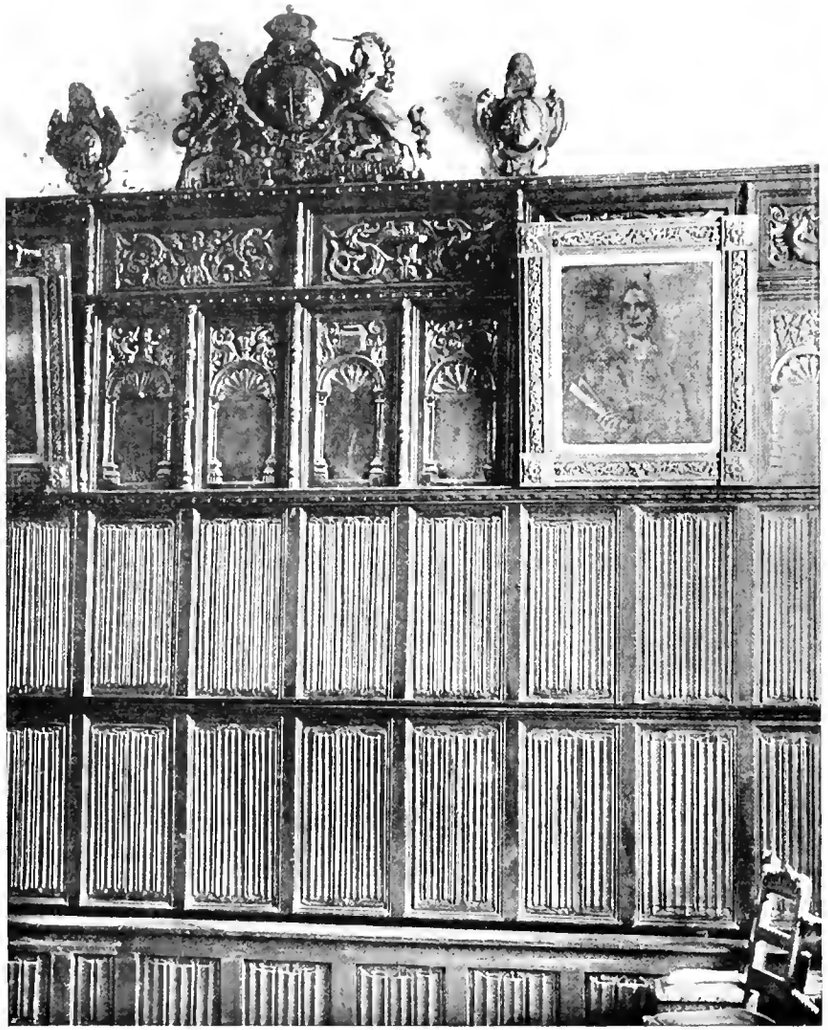


Fig. 292.

Fig. 293.

OAK PANELLINGS IN THE VICARS' HALL, EXETER.

Late sixteenth century.

CARVED OAK CHIMNEY BEAMS.

Fig. 294.
HOUSE IN MARKET STREET, LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK.
10 ft. 3 ins. long by 12 ins. and 15½ ins. high.
Late fifteenth century. Miss Priest Peck.

Fig. 295.
STOKE-BY-NAYLAND, SUFFOLK.
Early sixteenth century.

Fig. 296.
PAYCOCKES, COGGESHALL, ESSEX.
Early sixteenth century (about 1500).
Initials T.P. carved on shield. Noel Buxton, Esq.

between three mullets (or spur rowels) of Blackett.[1] In the panel of the lower tier in Fig. 278 is the pomegranate of Aragon, repeated twice, and alternating with the Tudor rose. This heraldry would have been utterly false if the panellings had been made for Robert Fuller. The Abbey fell into the clutches of Henry VIII at the Dissolution, and its first purchaser (at a bargain price, we may be sure, as the monastic possessions were disposed of by Henry for any sum they would realise at a forced sale) may have been the Blackett whose arms appear. The royal cognisances were, possibly, the expression of the family's gratitude for a good bargain driven with the royal vendor.

[1] The mullet has five straight points in English heraldry and six in French. It is the filial distinction of a third son. The estoile has six wavy points.

We shall see, in the next example, another instance of the same commemoration of an advantageous purchase.

Henry divorced Catherine in 1533, three years before the dissolution of the great monasteries began, and her cognisance of the pomegranate would hardly have been introduced later, but Wolsey had fallen in 1529, and by one of the meanest tricks of which a king has ever availed himself, the estates of the clergy were held to be forfeited, by reason of the acknowledgment, by the Church, of Wolsey's legatine authority, although this had been used with the express sanction of the King. It may have been on this pretext, and at this date, that Waltham was seized upon, in lieu of the fines and subsidies by which the Church extricated itself from the royal clutches. If this theory be admitted, we have a probable date between 1529 and 1533 for this Waltham panelling.

Shortly after the dissolution had commenced, in earnest, and monastic property was being surrendered on a wholesale scale, we find Sir Anthony Denny in possession of the Abbey, but on the panelling his arms do not figure anywhere, and there is a

Fig. 297.

OAK MANTEL FORMERLY IN THE OAK PARLOUR AT PARNHAM PARK, BEAMINSTER.

(Afterwards removed to the Hall).
Early sixteenth century.

strong probability that it was there when he acquired Waltham, possibly by purchase, from Blackett. His son, Sir Edward Denny, partially rebuilt the Abbey, which had fallen into a somewhat ruinous state, in the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth. It appears to have been again rebuilt in 1725, and pulled down in 1760, when these panellings were removed to the house in the town, before referred to.

From Beckingham Hall, in Essex, comes the elaborate panelling shown in Fig. 282

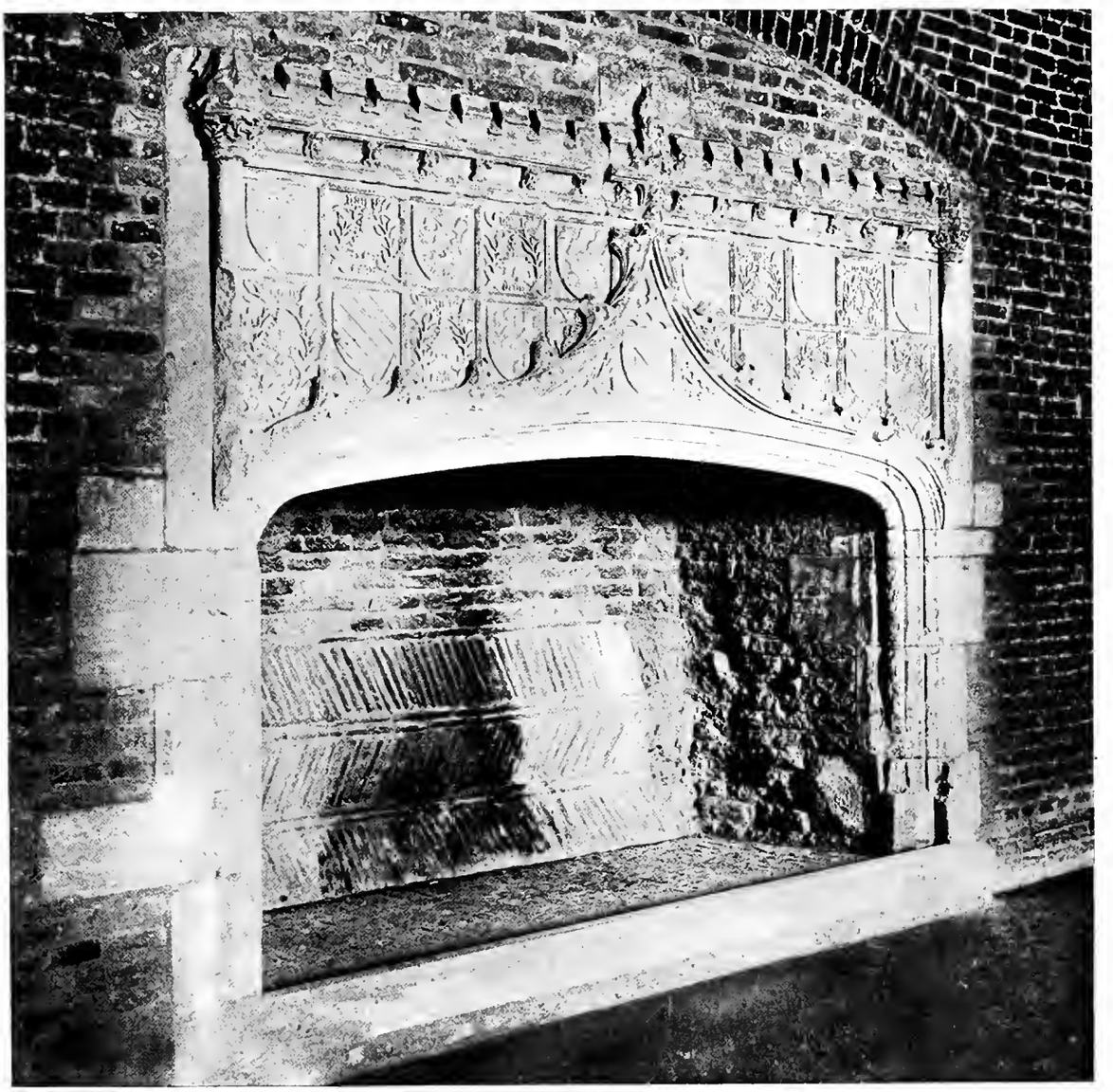


Fig. 298.

TATTERSHALL CASTLE, LINCOLNSHIRE.

Lord Treasurer Cromwell's chimney-piece on the ground floor.
Date about 1424.

Fig. 299.
PLASTER PANEL.
Late-sixteenth-century type.

Morant, in his "*History of Essex*," Vol. I, p. 390, refers to Tolleshunt Beckingham, which is, obviously, the same house. This, in the reign of King Stephen, was the property of Geffrey de Tregoz, lord of the next parish of Tolleshunt Tregoz, or Darcy, and was given by him to Coggeshall Abbey. It figures in the inventory taken at the dissolution of the Abbey's possessions 5th February, 1538. In Domesday it is referred to as owned by Robert son of Corbutio, a tenant-in-chief in the three eastern counties, "which was held by Sercar as a maner and as 1 hide, is held of R(obert) by Mauger (Malgerus)." It is from this Mauger that the name Tolleshunt Major derives.

In 1538 Henry VIII granted the manor to Sir Thomas Seymour, brother of the Duke of Somerset (a statesman whose ambitions brought him to the headsman's block), but Seymour exchanged it with the King after a few years. In 1543 it was granted to Stephen Beckingham and his wife, Anne, and the heirs of Stephen, by the name of Tolleshunt Major, or Tolleshunt Grange. Stephen Beckingham died in 1558 and was buried in the church. Royal grants being usually slow of completion, especially at that period, it is probable that the date 1546, carved in two places on this panel, records the actual year when Beckingham took possession.[1] The royal arms of Henry VIII, a quarterly shield on the first and fourth, azure, three fleurs-de-lys in pale, or, on the second and

[1] Hence, possibly, the two inscriptions, "Ingratitude is Death" and "He giveth Grace to the Humble," which appear on the panelling.

third, gules, three lions passant, in pale, or, crested with a six-barred helmet, affrontée, and as supporters a crowned lion and a winged wyvern, may have been designed with the panels at one of the periods when the house was in Henry's hands, in which case, the carved date would have been added some eight years later, marking the year when

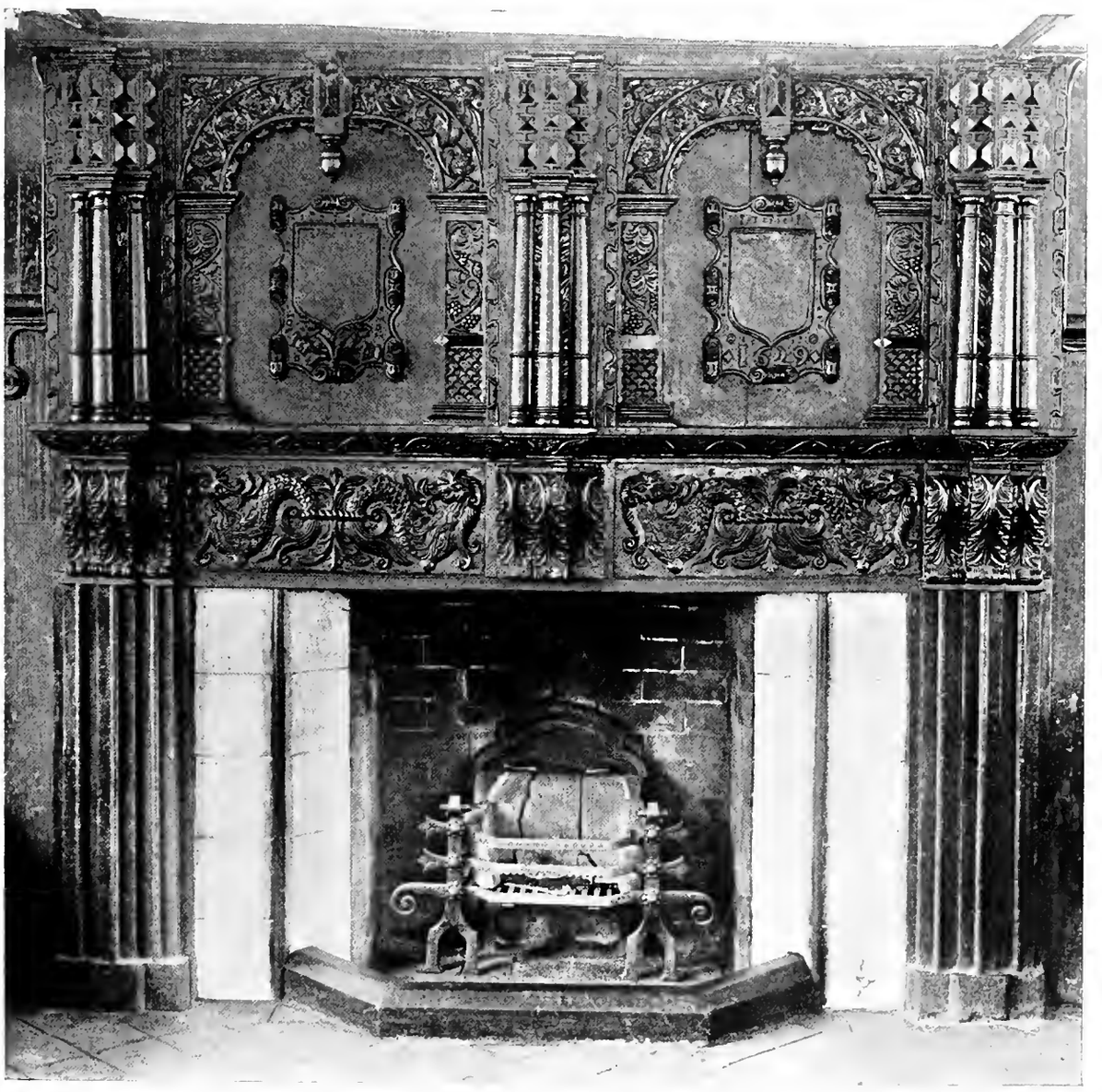


Fig. 300.

OAK CHIMNEY-PIECE.

Removed from a former house of Sir Orlando Bridgman Coventry
Now in the Refectory at Bablake Schools, Coventry.
Width 8 ft. 1½ ins. outside jambs.
Early seventeenth century.

Fig. 301.

LYME PARK, CHESHIRE, PLASTER OVERMANTEL IN THE LONG GALLERY.

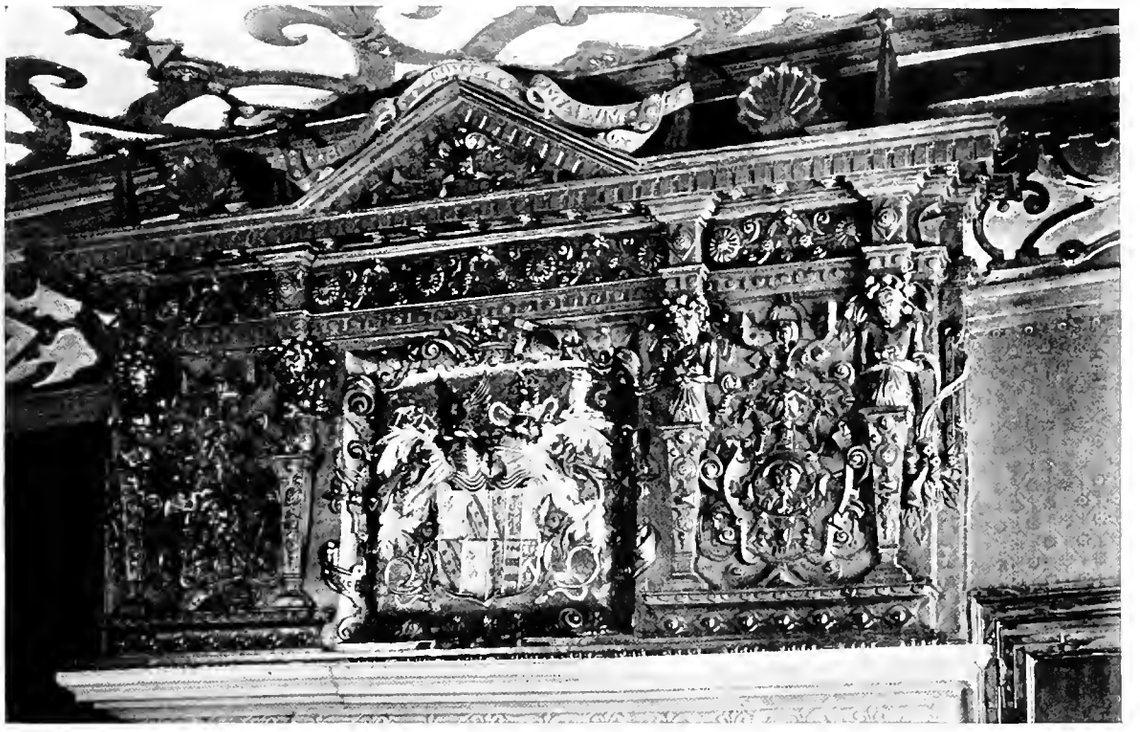


Fig. 302.

LYME PARK, CHESHIRE. PLASTER OVERMANTEL IN THE KNIGHT'S ROOM.

Fig. 303.

LYME PARK, CHESHIRE. PLASTER OVERMANTEL IN THE STONE PARLOUR.

the house came into Beckingham's possession. It is not rare, however, to find the royal arms used in the decoration of houses which have never been in the possession of a king, and this may be an instance, especially as the H.R. is reversed, and another coat, probably that of Beckingham, is introduced in the lower central panel. It is probable that the carved date is the true one, and the Royal Arms were inserted as a memento of the gift, or sale of the house. The purchase price, if any, must have been very low, as Henry disposed of the monastic possessions immediately they fell into his hands, and at any price. It has always been difficult to dispose of stolen goods to advantage, and Henry VIII furnished no exception to the rule. The results of his spoils were all dissipated in a few years, and the King had to turn to other sources to furnish the means for his unbounded extravagance.

This fragment evidently formed a part of the panelling over a mantel, but it is doubtful if the rest of the room was on a similarly elaborate scale. The carving is of fine quality, well designed, under strong influence from Burgundian sources. It may have been the work of some of the Walloon craftsmen who settled in Essex and Suffolk

Fig. 304.

LYME PARK, DISLEY, CHESHIRE. SIR PIERS LEGH'S ENTRANCE IN LEONI'S HOUSE.

Capt. the Hon. Richard Legh.

at this period. That the panelling was made in England is almost certain ; the wood is a quartered English oak, and the constructional details are not foreign.

At Holywells, Ipswich, Mr. John D. Cobbold has gathered together a very fine collection of elaborate panellings and woodwork, taken from Ipswich inns and houses which have been demolished during recent years. From the Neptune Inn, in 1913, came the rich linenfold panelling shown here in Fig. 283. It has been restored and added to, and the capping-rail is modern. One of the original sections illustrated here measures 9 ft. $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in width and 5 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in height. The addition, which can be seen on the extreme left hand, in the photograph, has been frankly made, without any attempt at concealment. These linen panels, with their Italian frieze, date from about 1540. Fig. 284 shows a portion to a larger scale. It will be noticed here, as in the Beckingham panelling, that the panel mouldings are truly mitred, instead of the mitres being worked in the solid, in the stonemason's manner.

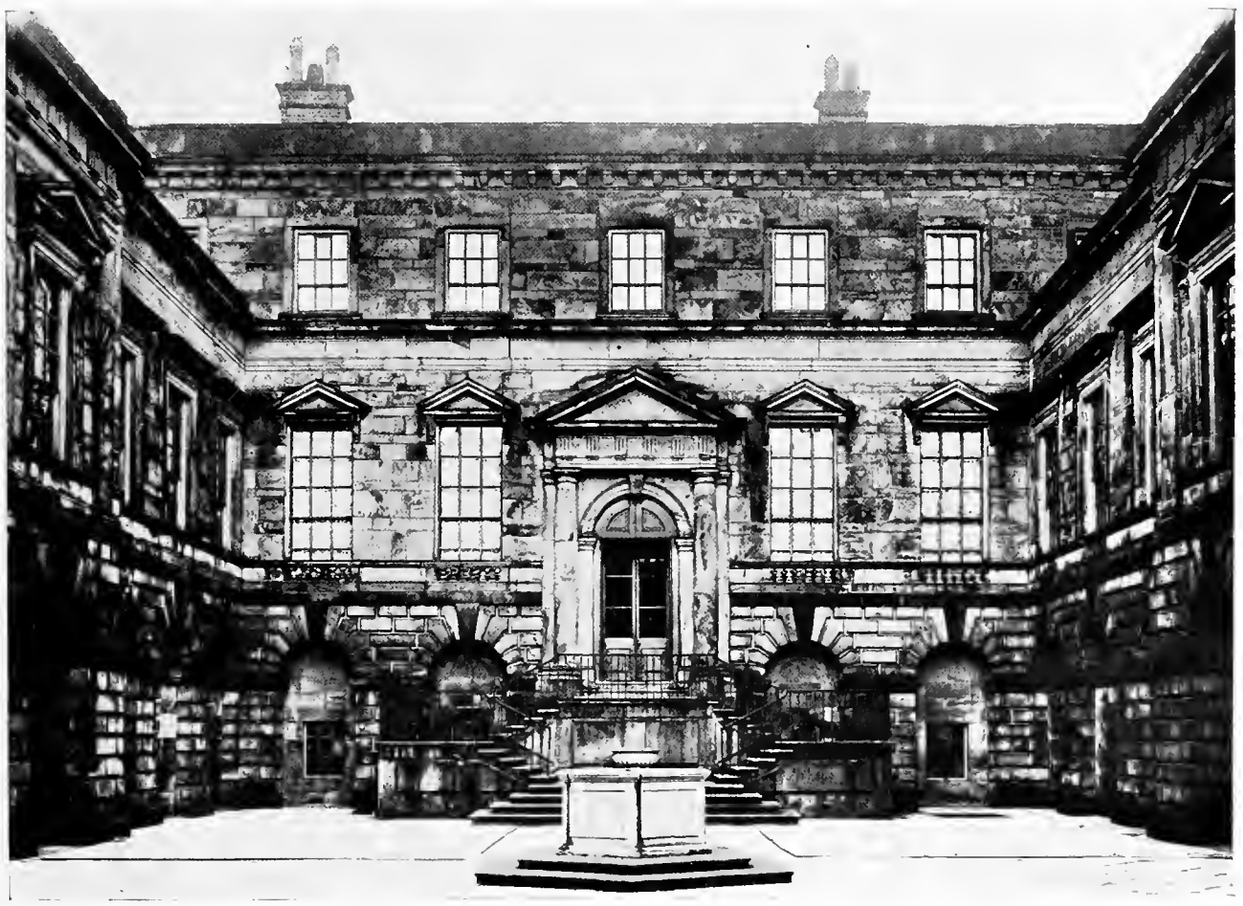


Fig. 305.

LYME PARK, CHESHIRE. LEONI'S CENTRAL COURTYARD.

Examples of carved Renaissance panels from the Study at Holywells, removed from the Tankard Inn, are illustrated in Figs. 285 to 291. The framings have been altered and adapted to fit the room, but the integrity of the panels has been preserved. Some of these are exceedingly quaint. Thus in the lower panel on the right of Fig. 285 is a representation of the tempting of Christ by the Devil. The one on the left of this has a shield, with a coat of arms, the same being repeated on the left-hand side of the door. The device below this second coat appears to suggest an original owner's initial. It is obviously improbable that this rich panelling was made for an inn (in fact, it is known that much, if not all, came from the house of Sir Thomas Wingfield in Ipswich, whose device, a double wing, appears on the lower panel on the left of the door in Fig. 285) We have seen, however, that Mistress Quickly refers to tapestries in the dining-rooms of her tavern, but these, as Falstaff suggests, were probably old, " fly-bitten " and worthless. The panel mouldings of Fig. 286 are modern ; those of Fig. 287 show the original sections, Fig. 288 has the initials " N.A."[1] in Gothic letters, suspended from a knotted rope,[2] elaborately intertwined in the branches of a tree, beneath which are two figures, which may represent Adam and Eve. Below, the device of Sir Thomas Wingfield appears again. The panel mouldings and framings here, also, are modern.

Fig. 306.

LYME PARK, CHESHIRE. THE ENTRANCE FRONT OF THE OLD HOUSE.

Detail.

[1] Or " H.A."

[2] A festooned cord (although not of the same interlacing as in this panel) was the device of Anne of Brittany, the consort of two French Kings, Charles VIII (who met his death, so tradition says, by knocking his head against the lintel of a low door in a terrace wall at Amboise), and his cousin and successor, Louis XII. This festooned cord, alternating with the ermine, may be seen in the exquisite little oratory built as an addition to Loches, in Touraine, by Charles VIII, and which bears the name of his Queen.

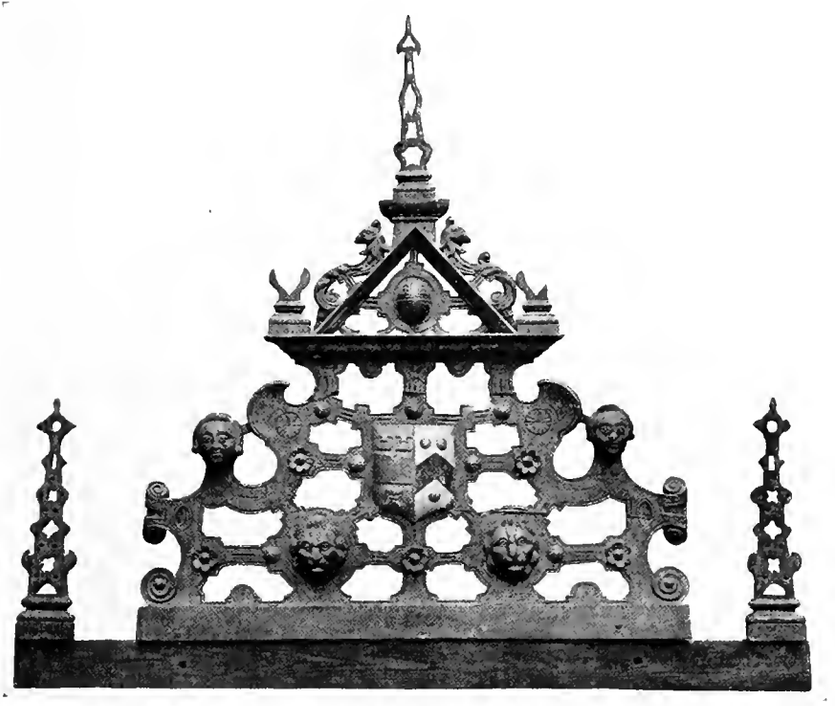


Fig. 307.
OAK OVERDOOR FROM ROTHERWAS, HEREFORD.
Carved with the arms of Bodenham quartering Baskerville.
Late sixteenth century.
C. J. Charles, Esq.

That these carved panels were made for the one room, in the original instance, is highly probable; they are, in no sense, pieces from several sources collected together. That rich panellings of this kind were not made at one period, but were added to, from time to time, frequently over a considerable space of years, there is considerable evidence to show. At Great Fulford, as we have seen, many of the panels are dated, and in Fig. 289, above the door, the escutcheon, as in Fig. 285, is here impaled with another, probably to indicate a marriage, in which case the added coat would be that of the husband. There is, possibly, a good deal of significance in the designing of this panel, but without an authenticated history of the woodwork, the meaning of the devices, such as the knotted rope, repeated again here, must remain obscure.

The turned balusters which support the canopy of the mantel, Fig. 290, are original to the shelf-line. The central panel represents quaint scenes, probably from mythological history, among others, the Judgment of Paris. Escutcheons are shown again in the lower panels of Fig. 291, the coat on the sinister side of the overdoor, Fig. 289, here impaled with another, probably to commemorate a second marriage alliance.

The Vicars' Hall, or to give it its full title, the Hall of the Vicars Choral, is now a mere fragment of a building in South Street, Exeter. Above the door is the legend "Aula Collegii Vicariorum de Choro," which conveys to the Latinist an idea of the purpose for which it was built. It formed part of the property, if not of the Cathedral Church,—which is now reached through the later archway at the side,—certainly of the Vicars who officiated at the services. It was customary, in the Middle Ages, for a

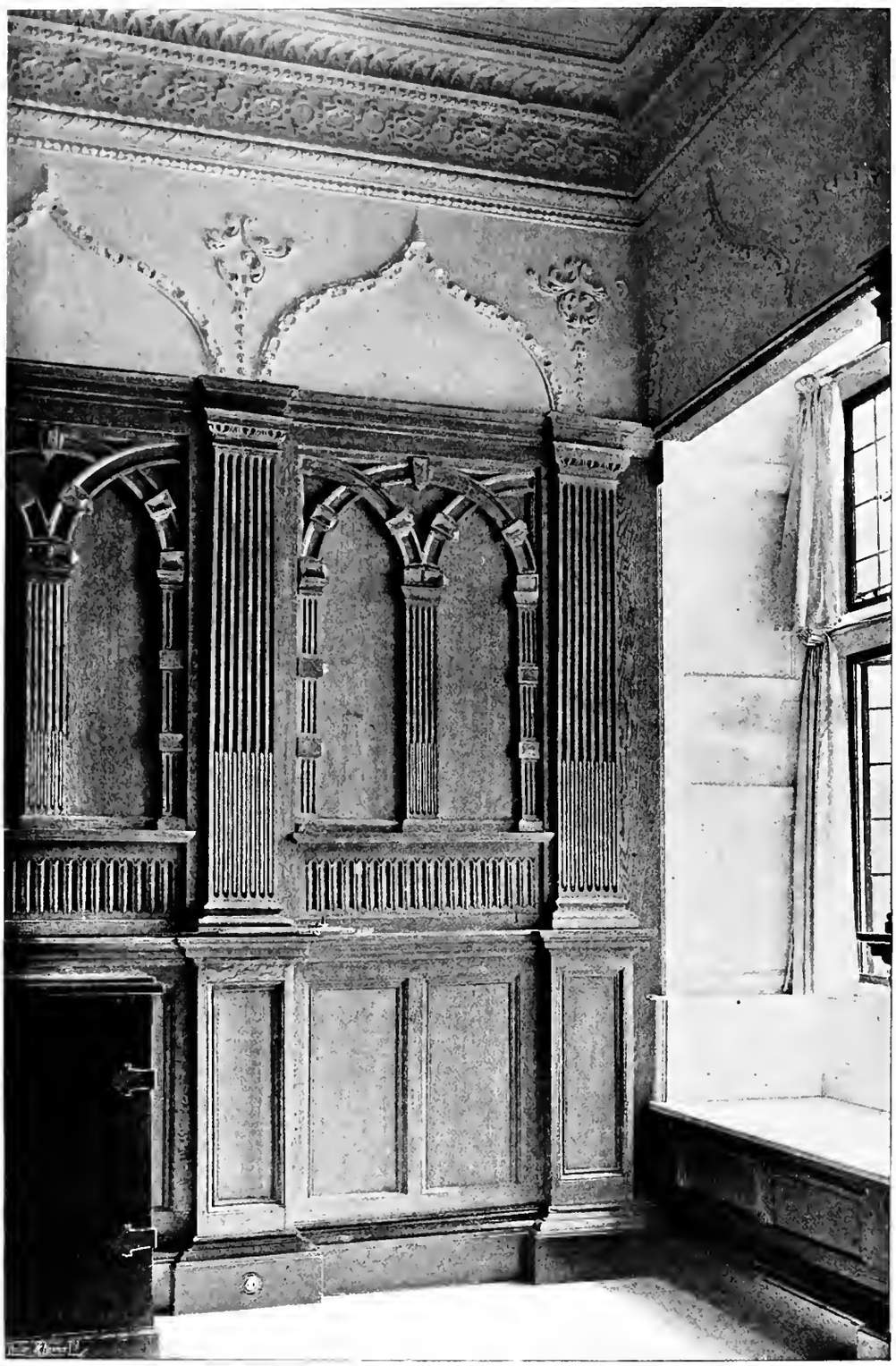


Fig. 308.

TISSINGTON HALL, DERBYSHIRE. PANELLING IN THE HALL.

Early seventeenth century.

Fig. 309.

LYME PARK, CHESHIRE.

Panelling now in the drawing-room, formerly in the long gallery.
Early seventeenth century.

Capt. the Hon. Richard Legh.

Fig. 310.

OAK PILASTERS.

Removed from a house at Exeter.
c. 1600.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 311.

OAK PILASTER.

From a house in Lime St.,
City of London.
Early seventeenth century.

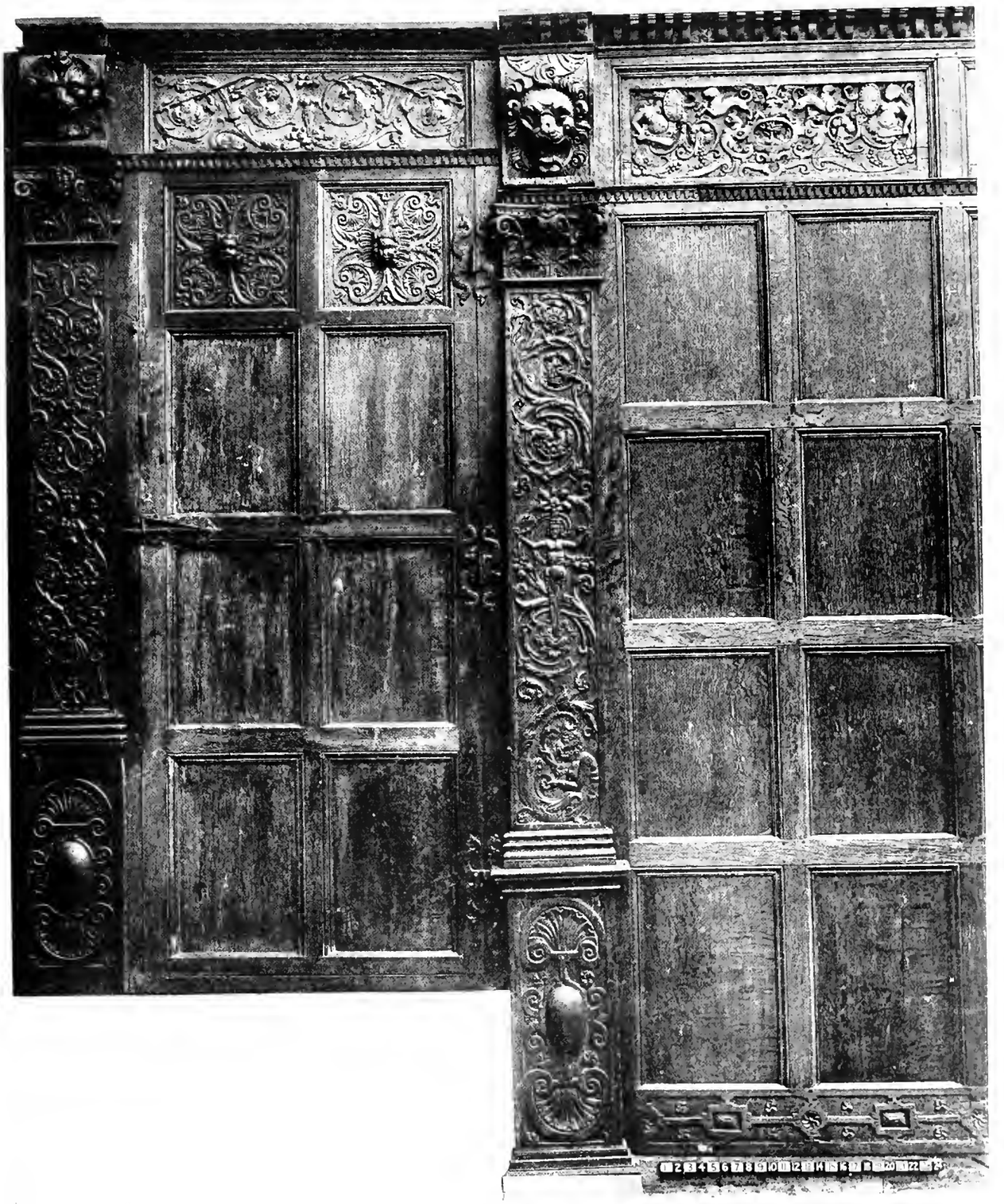


Fig. 312.

OAK PILASTERS AND PANELLING FROM A HOUSE AT EXETER.

c. 1600. Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 313.
FRIEZE DETAILS OF THE EXETER PANELLING.

Fig. 314.
FRIEZE DETAILS OF THE EXETER PANELLING.

number of Priests and Singing Men, or choristers, to be retained for the services, and the Vicars' Hall was their "Common Room" for meals and recreation hours. On the other side of the archway, before referred to, once united to the main building, were the living chambers, kitchens, buttery and domestic offices, but these have long since been absorbed into business premises. The Vicars appear to have possessed considerable

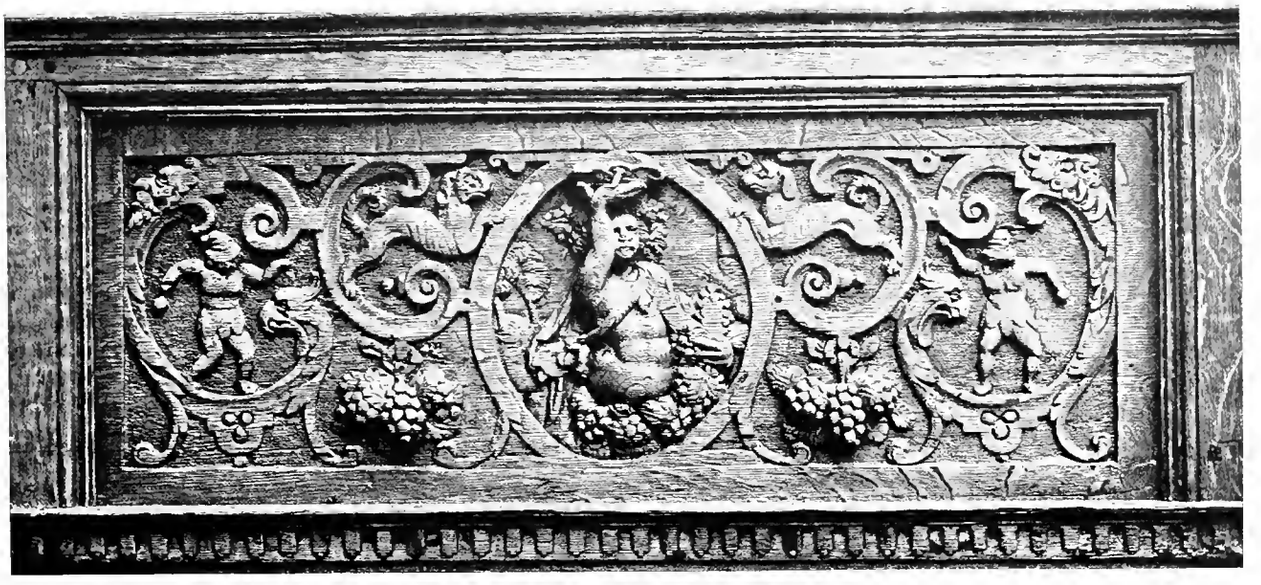


Fig. 315.
FRIEZE DETAILS OF THE EXETER PANELLING.

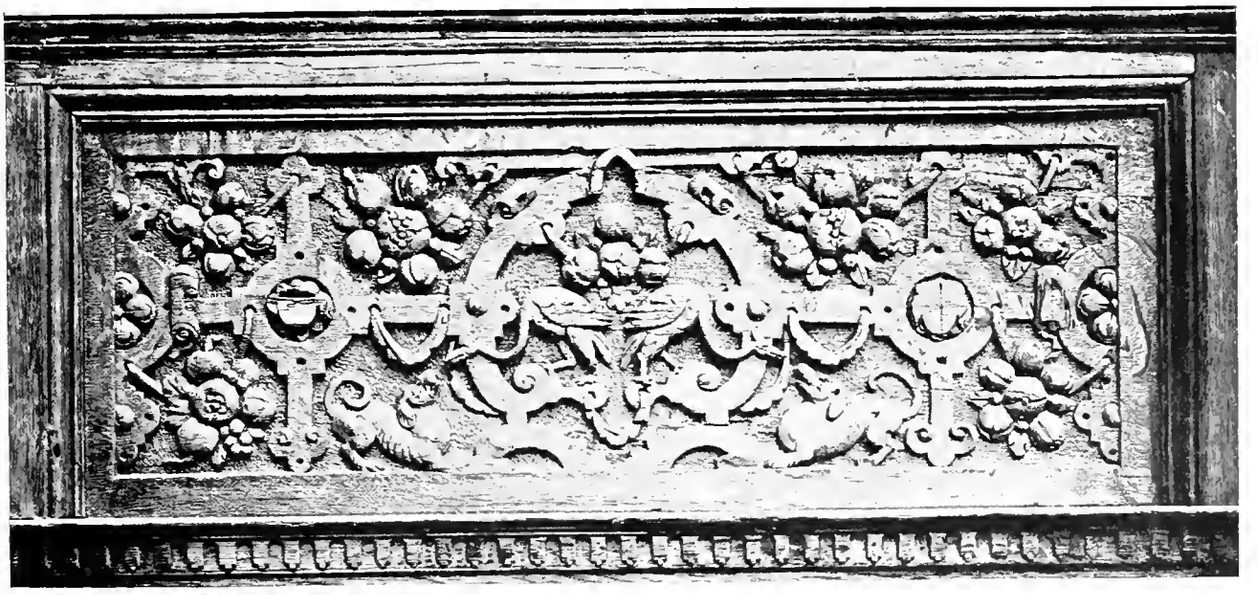


Fig. 316.
FRIEZE DETAILS OF THE EXETER PANELLING.

property during their history, and Bishop Grandisson, 1338–70, was their great benefactor. At this period the Priests and Choristers numbered twenty-four. Bishop Oldham, 1507–1522, appears to have made some additions to the "Common Room," and the linenfold panelling, which is illustrated here in Figs. 292 and 293, probably dates from his time. The stone mantel in the Hall is certainly earlier, and may be the work of Bishop Brantingham, 1370–1394. There are indications that the mantel has been taken apart and rebuilt, probably when Hugh Oldham's alterations took place. Above Bishop Oldham's linenfold panelling is an elaborate tier of arcaded and carved woodwork, with the royal arms placed in the middle of the flank facing the gallery, and on two cartouches the date, 1629, is carved. There are many evidences of later and very ignorant restorations in the Hall. This is especially noticeable in the case of the exceptionally rich bulbous-leg table which stands at this end of the room. Reference will be made

Fig. 317.
OAK-PANELLED ROOM, FORMERLY IN A HOUSE ON THE OLD QUAY, YARMOUTH.
Dated 1595. Lord Rochdale.

to this again, in a later chapter dealing with the development of tables. There are also indications that the cutting through of the archway has shorn the Hall of some of its former proportions, and the gallery has been brought forward into the Hall and doors of later date adapted. The panelling is very interesting, and exceptional in being a literal representation of the folding of soft linen, as compared with other examples which we have considered, where the effect is that of starched or stiff material. The upper series of arcaded panels are true to their period, that of the first years of the reign of Charles I. That the Hall originally possessed a gallery is highly probable, but if so, the original panelled or balustraded front has disappeared. The present Stuart panelling has been cut and adapted on more than one occasion ; at the time when the new gallery was formed, and also at a late date. The stone chimney-piece is of early-fifteenth-century character, similar in type, but not so rich in detail as those at Tattershall (see Fig. 298).

Fig. 318.

THE PLASTER CEILING OF THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM, FIG. 317.

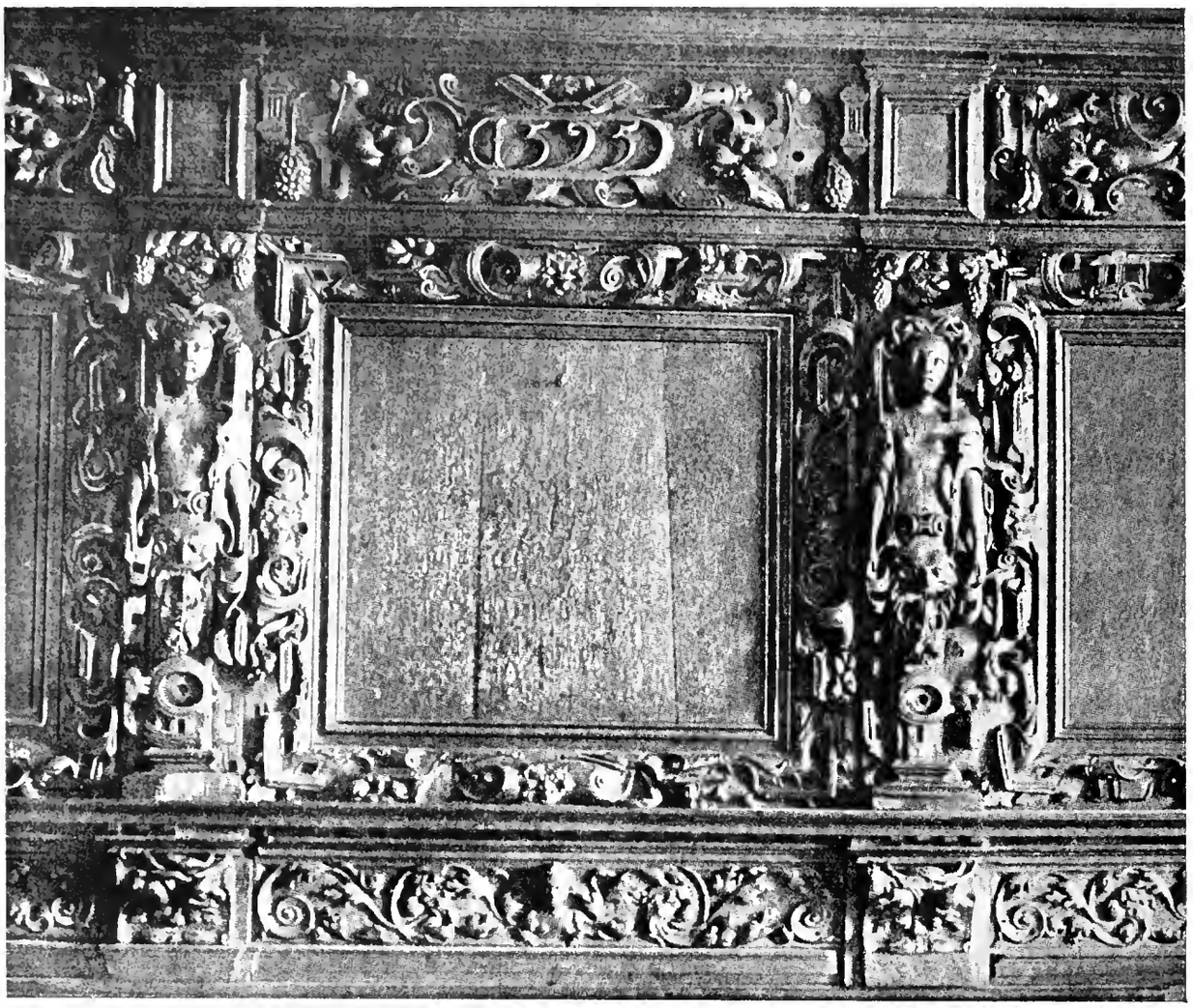


Fig. 319.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM, FIG. 317. THE CARVED PANELS OVER THE MANTEL.

In the same way as with the staircase, the chimney-piece acquires a size and dignity towards the end of the sixteenth century, which it had not possessed, previously. The problem of the warming of churches in the fifteenth century, and earlier, does not appear to have been attempted at that period. These churches possess no fireplaces, nor any signs that such ever existed. Portable stoves were unknown, unless we except cressets or braziers, which, if used, must have been totally inadequate, and we can only assume that our fifteenth-century ancestors endured extremes of cold, in sacred edifices, to which we, at the present day, are totally unaccustomed. Even in early monastic refectories and large halls, fireplaces, where they exist, are nearly always of later date.

With timber houses, fireplaces and stacks of chimneys were the rule, but the usual fire opening was supported by a brick or stone arching, and an oak beam or bressomer. This constituted the domestic mantel up to the middle of the sixteenth century. These chimney-beams were often well carved, cambered to prevent sagging, and finished above with panelling either especially enriched, as in the example from Tolleshunt Major,

Fig. 320.

THE OAK-PANELLED "NELSON" ROOM, FORMERLY IN THE STAR HOTEL, GREAT YARMOUTH.

1595–1600.

Fig. 282, or matching that of the room as in Fig. 269. The early carpenters had a high opinion of the fire-resisting qualities of oak. These beams are seldom, if ever, protected from the direct action of the fire, and in those which have persisted to our day, beyond a mere surface charring, the timber has remained as sound as it was when it was worked.

Four examples of these carved fireplace lintels are given in Figs. 294 to 297. The first is from a house in Market Street, Lavenham, of the late fifteenth century. Fig. 295, from Stoke-by-Nayland, is later, and is squared to rest upon the brick or stone jambs in the early-sixteenth-century manner. Fig. 296 is from Paycockes, Coggeshall, a house built about the year 1500 by Thomas Paycocke, a wealthy merchant and great

Fig. 321.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM WITH INTERIOR PORCH, FIG. 320

1595–1600.

benefactor to the Abbey and the Church in the closing years of the fifteenth century. The lintel illustrated here is shown in situ, in Fig. 269. It bears the initials T.P. in the central shield, and it is, therefore, original to the house.

The Abbey of Coggeshall was founded by King Stephen, and was one of the thirteen houses of the order of Savigny, the whole of which joined the Cistercians in 1147. Opinions are divided as to who was the last abbot at the Dissolution in 1536. Some authorities give Henry More, whereas Morant states that William Love was the abbot at this date. Tolleshunt Major, or Beckingham, was a part of the Abbey property.

Fig. 322.
THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM, FIG. 320.
1595–1600.

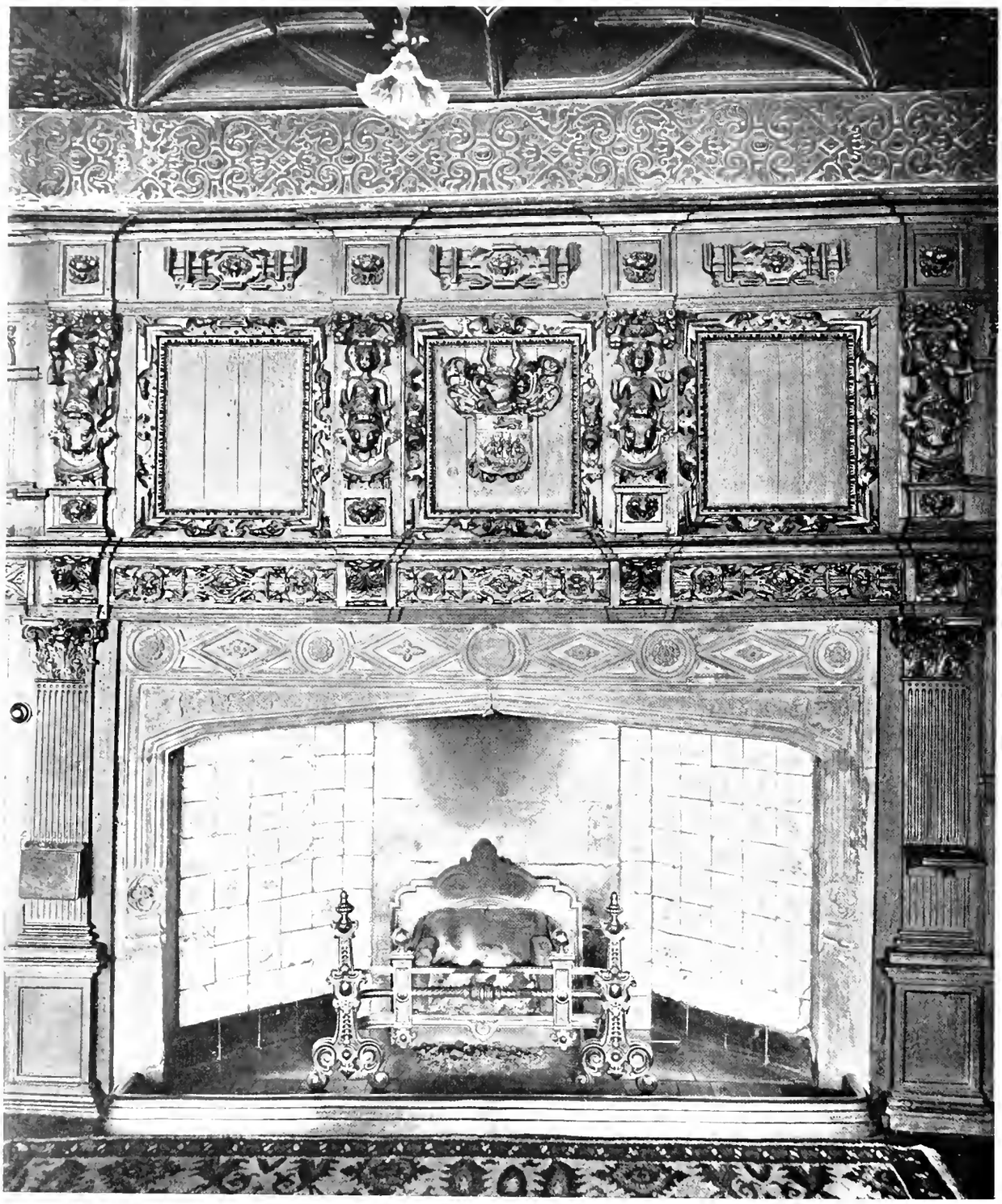


Fig. 323.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM, FIG. 320. THE MANTEL.

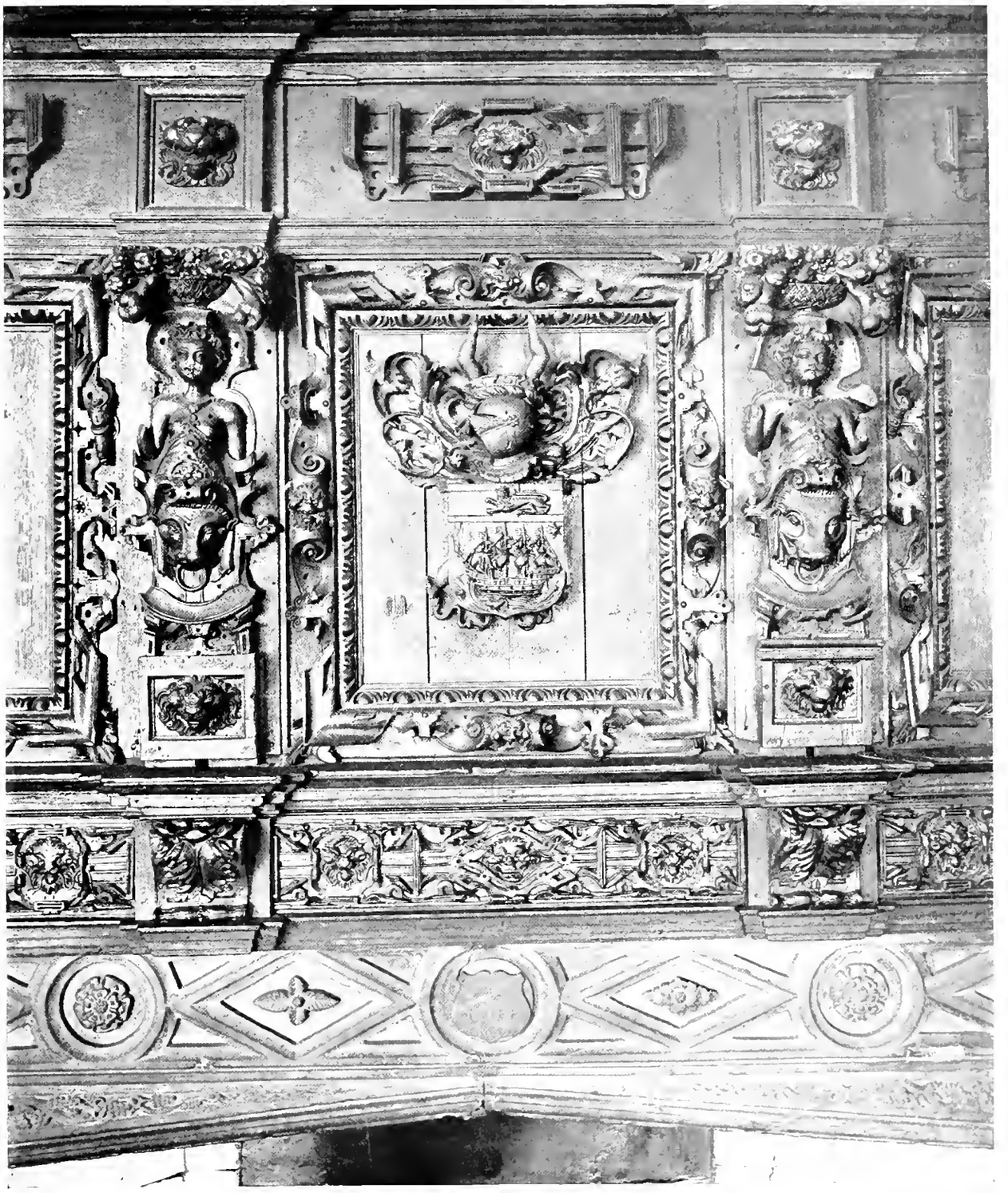


Fig. 324.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM, FIG. 320. DETAILS OF THE OVERMANTEL.

Fig. 325.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM, FIG. 320. DETAIL OF PANELLING AND PILASTERS.

Fig. 326.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM, FIG. 320. THE INTERIOR PORCH.

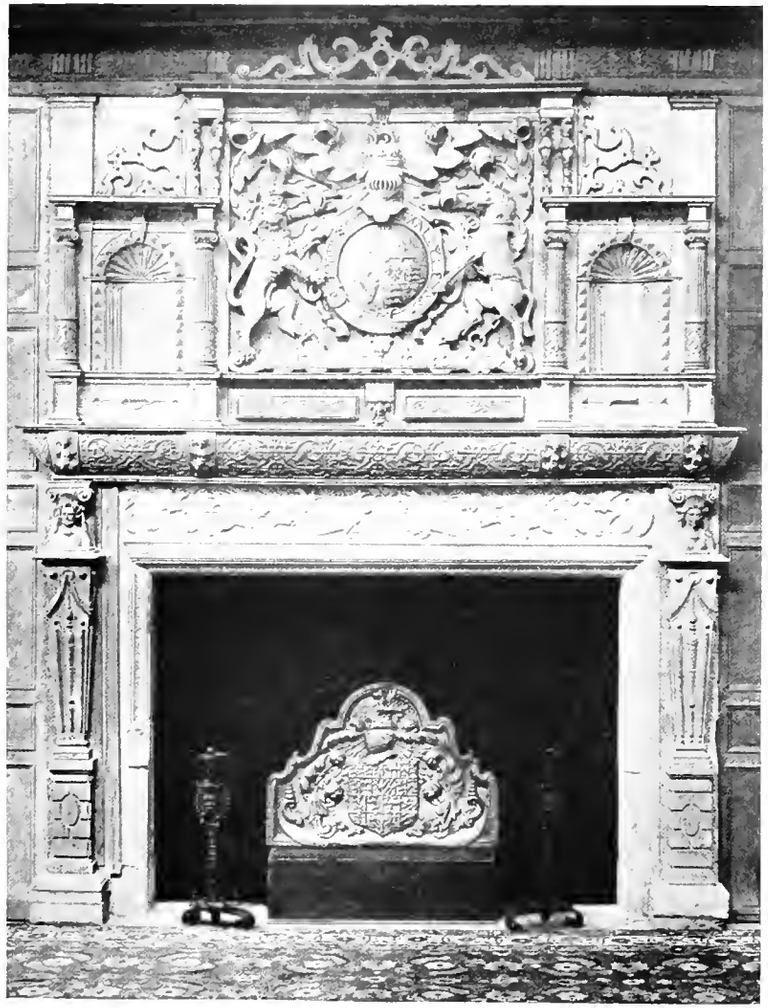


Fig. 327.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM FROM THE PALACE AT BROMLEY-BY-BOW.

The chimney-piece.
Date 1606.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

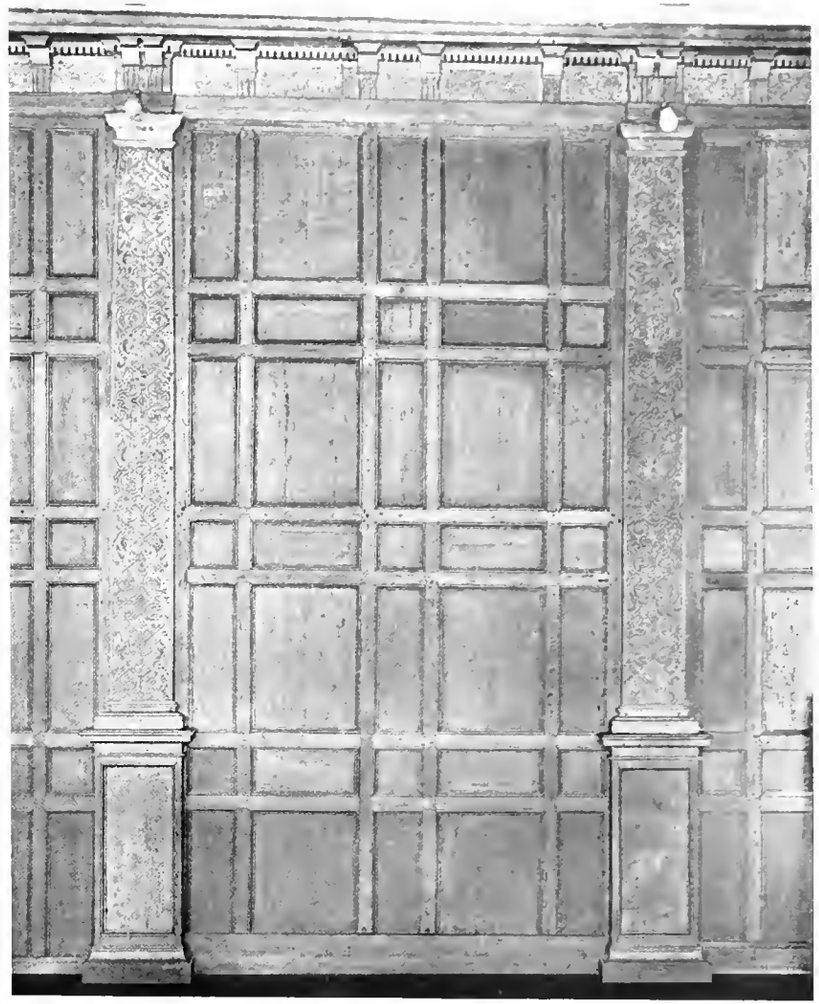


Fig. 328.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM FROM THE PALACE AT BROMLEY-BY-BOW.

Detail of panelling and pilasters.
Date 1606.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 297 is an example from Parnham Park, Beaminster, Dorset, formerly in the oak parlour, but removed to the Great Hall some twelve years ago. Parnham is of early-sixteenth-century date, but this lintel may have been preserved from a still older house. It is, essentially, a timber-house chimney-beam, whereas Parnham is stone-built.

The most typical examples of the stone-lintelled mantelpieces of the fifteenth century

Fig. 329.

OAK CHIMNEY-PIECE.

The stone lining is carved with the arms of the Huxleys of Edmonton.
Date about 1610. Victoria and Albert Museum.

may be found in Lord Treasurer Cromwell's Castle of Tattershall. One of these is illustrated in Fig. 298, refixed at the time of the recent restorations to the Castle. It is from these stone mantels that the early chimney-beams of oak were copied, before the wood mantel acquired its later decorative importance. At the date when Tattershall was built this mantel represented the highest development of chimney decoration. Ralph Cromwell symbolised his elevation to the post of Treasurer of the Exchequer in 1424 by the money-bags which are carved in each of the corner panels. Waynflete was, probably, the designer of both the Castle and its decorations. In selecting stone mantels of

Fig. 330.

HEMSTED, KENT. OAK MANTEL.

A reproduction. The panelling of this room is original early-seventeenth-century work.

Viscount Rothermere.

this kind, as models for their carved oak chimney-beams, therefore, the designers of timber houses were copying the finest examples extant at their day.

The earliest attempts at decorating the space above the mantel appear to have consisted of plaster panels set in flush with the wall-face. The flue and chimney breast, even in timber houses, were, of course, constructed either in brick or stone, and, while vertical oak stud-work may have had a certain decorative effect, it was dangerous to use it over the mantel. It is exceptional, however, to find any attempt at embellishing

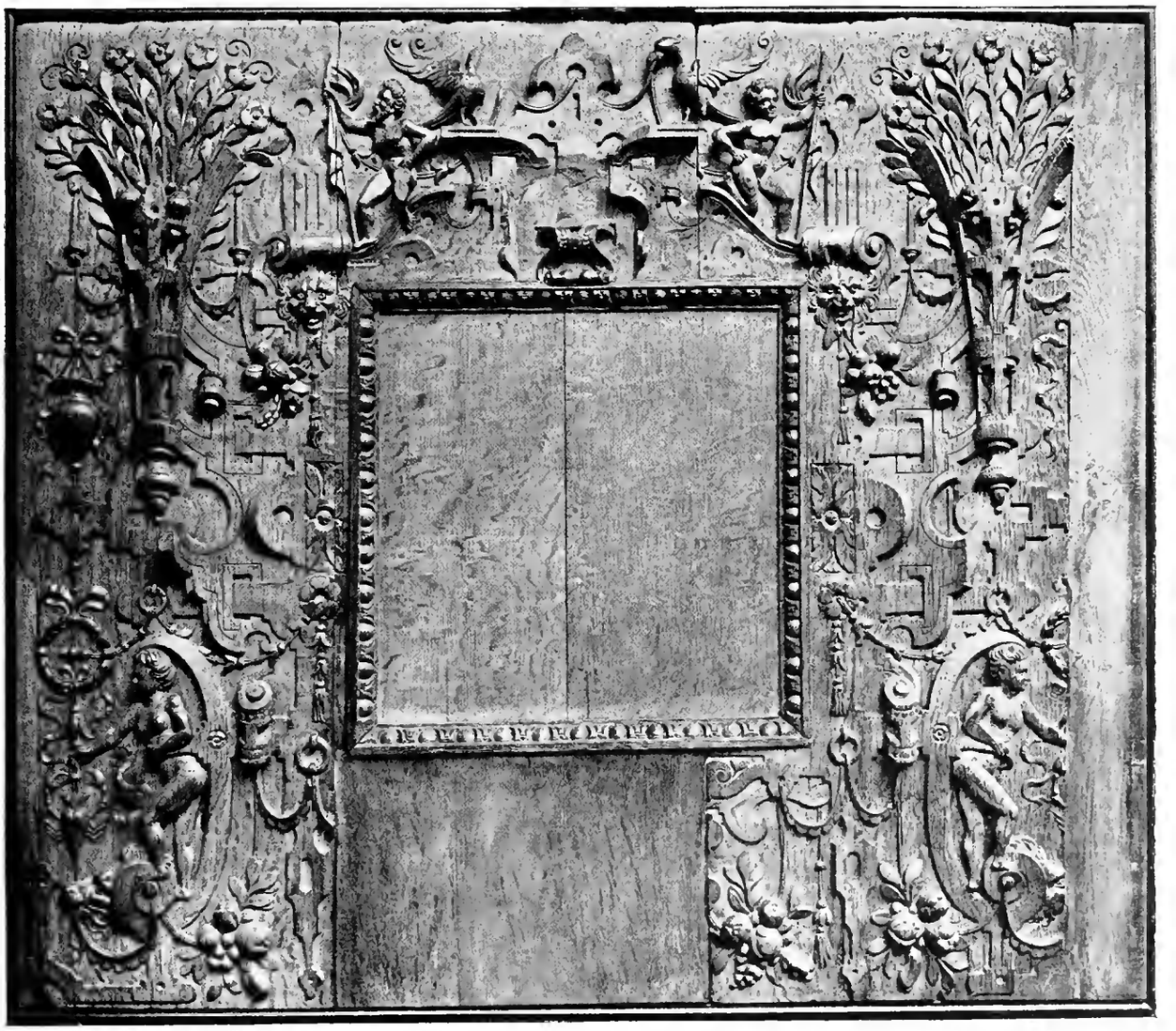


Fig. 331.

CARVED OAK PANEL

3 ft. 3¾ ins. wide by 2 ft. 10½ ins. nigh.
Late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

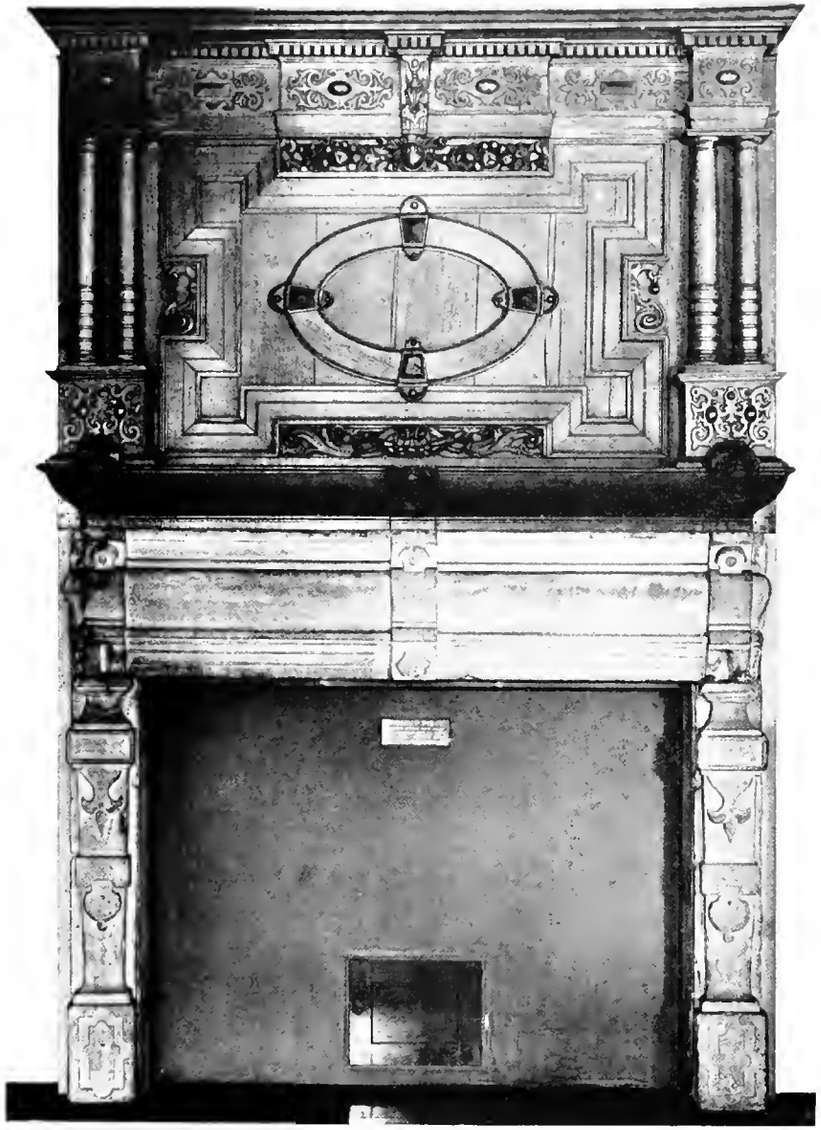


Fig. 332.

Fig. 333.

OAK MANTELS FROM LIME STREET, CITY OF LONDON

Date about 1620.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

this space before the latter half of the sixteenth century. As a general rule, rooms were low, and mantels high, with very little space above them for more than a single row of panels, if the room was completed with panelling to the ceiling. These flush plaster panels or overmantels were very popular in Lancashire, Derbyshire and Cheshire from about 1570 to 1600, and were frequently enriched with colours. Fig. 299 may be regarded as typical of this period and district. The heraldry of the coats in the shields of these plaster panels is often false. To this date belong many of the allusive coats which puzzle the heralds of the present day.

The oak mantel develops in size and prominence very rapidly towards the close of the sixteenth century. In Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire and Lancashire there is a strong tendency towards an almost barbaric richness of ornament, coupled with the adoption of a type at a date much later than its fashion in other counties. Fig. 300, now in Bablake Schools, was formerly in the Coventry house of Sir Orlando Bridgman. At its removal the original jambs were replaced with others of quite simple fashion. The peculiarity of the later Midland development of the sixteenth-century Renaissance can be studied in this chimney-piece. The detail is coarse, an effect which must have been accentuated when the overmantel possessed its original heavy cornice.

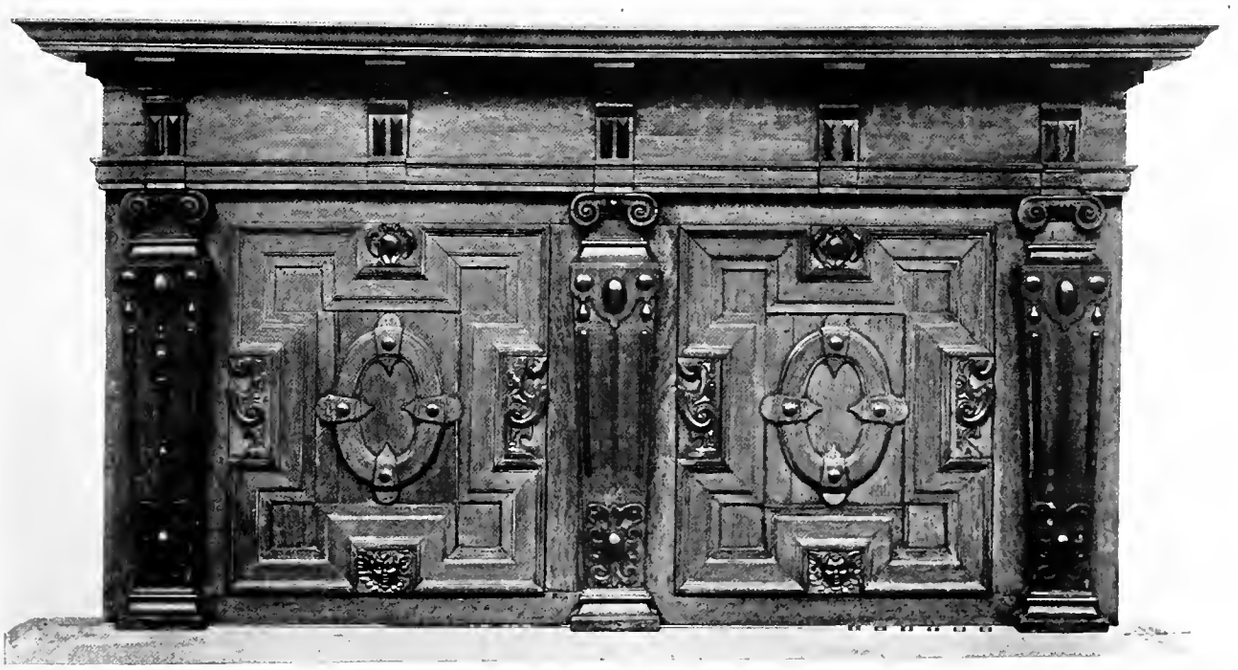


Fig. 334.

OAK MANTEL FROM LIME STREET, CITY OF LONDON.

6 ft. wide. Date about 1620.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

If there be such a style, in woodwork, as Elizabethan, then the arcaded panels, with the arches flattened, and centred by keystones with turned pendants beneath, and the shields below framed in paper-scrolling, may be described as being a Midland County perpetuation of that manner in a mantel of the seventeenth century.[1] It is hardly correct, however, to state that English woodwork in the Midlands had become sufficiently homogeneous at this period to admit of any such style-classification ; each district or county appears to have possessed its own manner, although such details as the arcaded panel appear in them all, and persist for nearly a century.

As illustrating this richness of ornamentation in the Midlands at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and, at the same time the use of an earlier style, the three overmantels from Lyme Park, Figs. 301 to 303, may be given as examples. Unfortunately, these are merely castings from originals which have disappeared, probably when Leoni rebuilt the house. How much he added is also conjectural. At the date, about 1603, when Sir Piers Legh built Lyme as his habitation, a considerable amount of fine woodwork must have been put in, judging from the original fragments of panelling and staircases which still exist in the Leoni house. That some desire must have been felt to preserve as much of this old house as was possible, consistent with its considerable enlargement in all directions, is indicated by the central portion of the entrance front, Figs. 304 and 306, which has been rebuilt with the old stones, marred, however, by the classical windows which Leoni inserted. Fig. 305 shows Leoni's central courtyard, and it will be seen that no fragment of the original house remains on these elevations. A feature here is the size of the

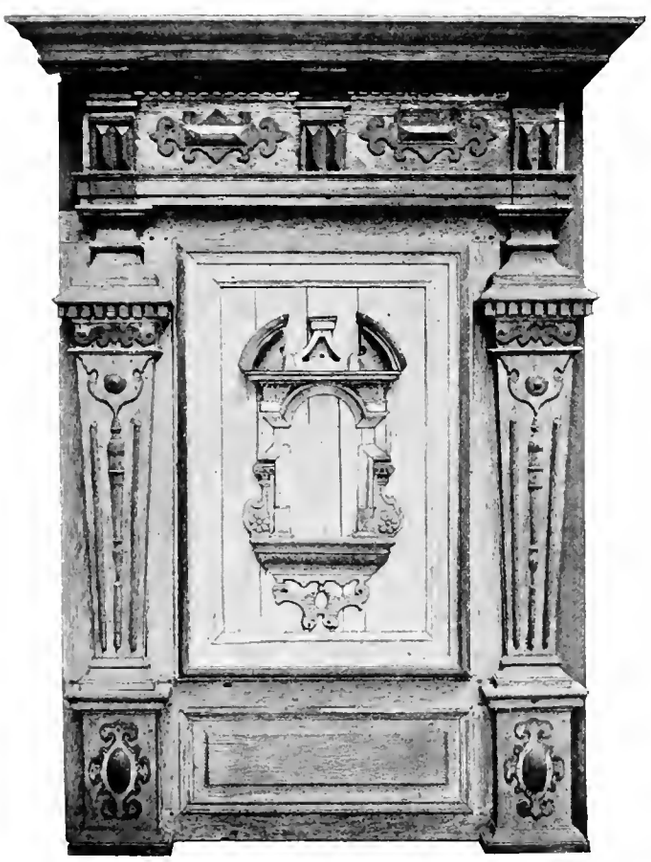


Fig. 335.
OAK PANEL AND PILASTERS.

Height 5 ft. 8 ins. ; width 4 ft. 1 in.
First half of the seventeenth century.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

[1] This mantel is dated 1629. The general style is earlier, however, even for Warwickshire.

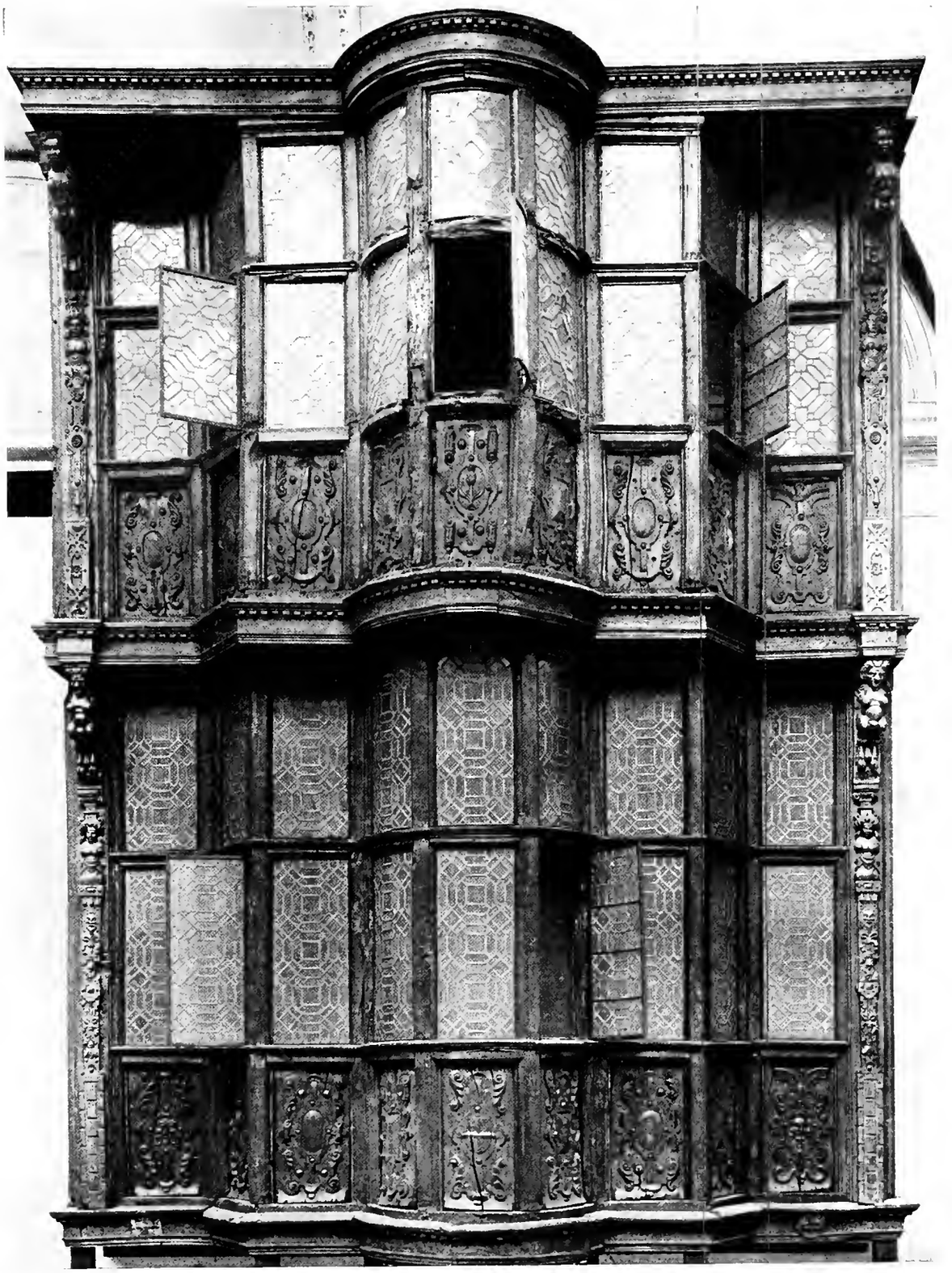


Fig. 336.

THE HOUSE OF SIR PAUL PINDAR, FORMERLY IN BISHOPSGATE WITHOUT.

Built 1600. Demolished 1890.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

panes in the sash-barring of the windows, all of fine crown glass, and all intact. This glass is of beautiful colour, with the whirling marks visible in every pane.

It is idle to conjecture why the originals of these fine overmantels were not preserved.[1] The plaster copies are richly coloured and emblazoned, but it is impossible to imagine that these are the mantels of the early-seventeenth-century house. The original chimney-pieces must have been removed while the house was being rebuilt, and, with plaster, this would have been impossible. It is more reasonable to suppose that the originals were in sculptured stone, and were incapable of being removed without breakage, and before taking them down these plaster copies were made. Lyme is in a stone county; there are stone outcrops everywhere in the Park, and Sir Piers Legh may have chosen the more accessible, and more durable, material for his mantelpieces, with the idea that his house would persist for a period considerably longer than a century. He had not reckoned with changes of taste, or desires for vast rooms of great height, which his Jacobean house could not satisfy. These plaster overmantels, copies as they may be, are exceptionally interesting nevertheless, as showing the rich work which was put into a Knight's country house in the first years of the reign of James I.

Fig. 337.
SHERARD HOUSE, ELTHAM, KENT.

The oak overdoor from Rotherwas, in County Hereford, Fig. 307, is a good example of the Flemish Renaissance development, in the Welsh bordering counties, at the close of the sixteenth century. Here we

[1] There is the possibility that these plaster overmantels are actual originals from the old house of Lyme. In their present state of later emblazonry, it is impossible to say. If original, they have been both repaired and added to, either by Leoni, or at a later date. The mantels below appear to be from his designs.

have the coarse fretwork ornamented with strap-and-jewel and pierced pinnacles, in the manner which permeated Lancashire, Warwickshire, Shropshire, Derbyshire and Herefordshire very thoroughly at this period, especially in the designing of staircases such as at Aston Hall. The arms carved on this overdoor are those of Bodenham quartering Baskerville. The shield of the Bodenhams, with its twenty-five quarterings, is illustrated in Fig. 346.

The custom of making wall panellings, with the join of the sections masked by carved pilasters, appears to have originated at the very close of the sixteenth century, and to have been very general throughout England. At an earlier period any joins in the lateral rails of panellings were frankly made, scarfed together with no attempt at concealment. In Derbyshire, Cheshire and Lancashire, the usual plan appears to have been to make both the panellings and the pilasters in two distinct lateral sections or stages, divided by a moulded surbase or dado-rail, as at Tissington, Fig. 308, and Lyme, Fig. 309. The same system was adopted, in a different manner, in the case of the East Anglian woodwork of this date. In the Tissington panelling this arrangement is better indicated, the fluted pilasters with moulded-panel bases having both dado and skirting mitred round in the one unbroken lateral line. At Lyme, the panelling, originally that of a Long Gallery, has been very badly adapted to the present drawing-room, with the stages of the pilasters not in vertical line, and the whole effect marred by the enormous angle-pilaster which is fixed to the junction of the compass-window recess with the flank wall, and which cuts the panelling up in a very unfortunate manner. Yet this wood-

Fig. 338.
OAK-PANELLED ROOM FROM SHERARD HOUSE.
Showing paint and wall-paper partially removed.
c. 1630.

work, such as is original, far transcends that at Tissington in its design and rich decoration of moulding, carving and inlay. It is exceedingly refined, yet in a county the woodwork of which is remarkable for the absence of such a quality, as a general rule. Both at Lyme and at Tissington there is the same interlaced arches rising from small fluted pilasters, with moulded tablets on the intersections,—a detail which is rarely, if ever, found other than in the Western Midland Counties.

Fig. 339.

OAK PANELLING AND MANTEL FROM SHERARD HOUSE, ELTHAM, KENT.

c. 1630

Arthur H. Vernay, Esq.

The panellings of the South-west of England vary very little, in the type of pilasters, from those of East Anglia or the home counties, although there is considerable difference in the carving decorations. The Devonshire pilaster is richer in detail, with a long shaft and nearly always with elaborately carved capitals, but there is the same low base and skirting, such as is usually found in the examples from London and its outlying districts. The rounded forms of the Southern-French Renaissance persist for many years in Devonshire, and give a peculiar opulent character to the carving-decoration of this

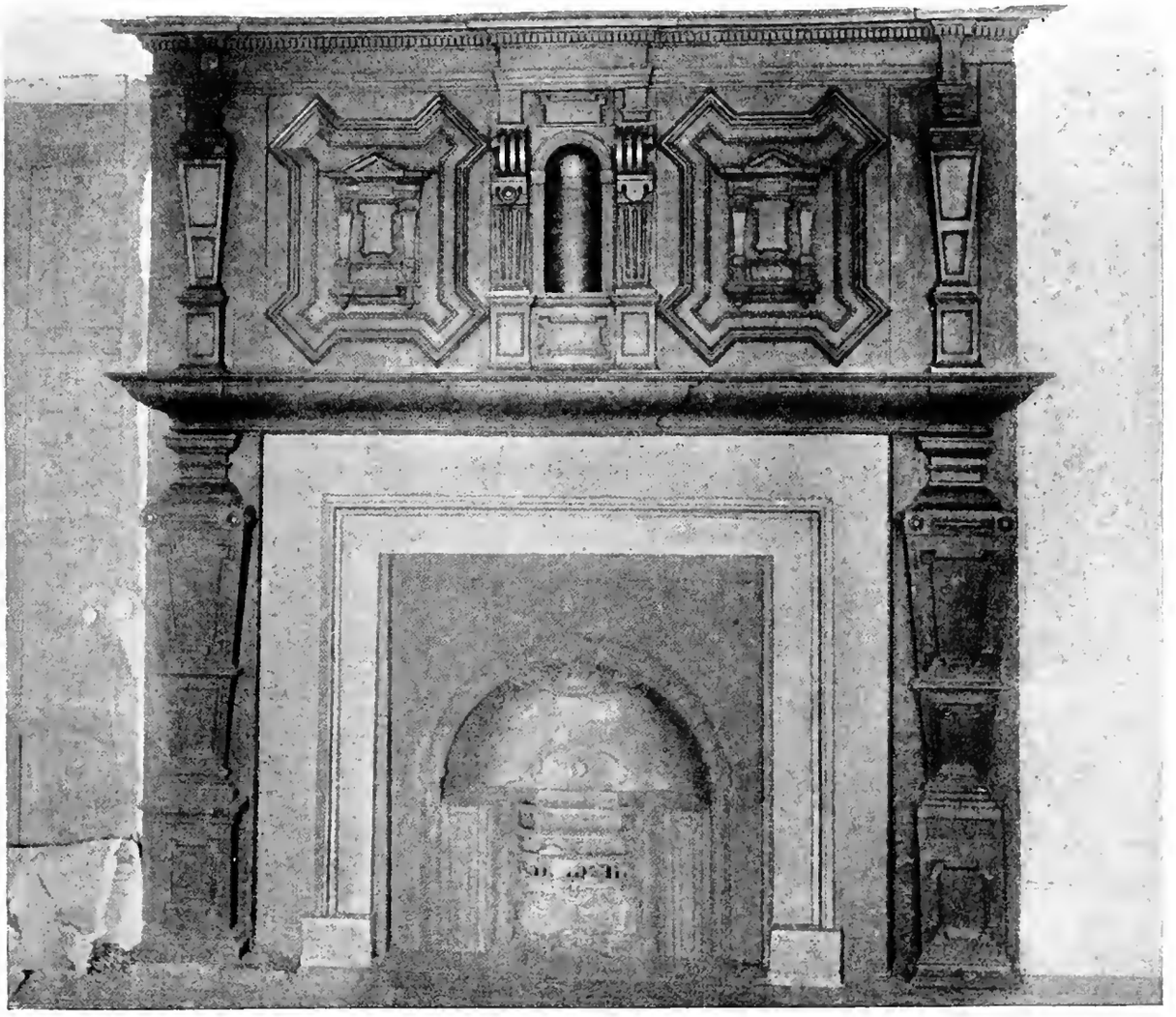


Fig. 340.

OAK PANELLING AND MANTEL FROM SHERARD HOUSE, ELTHAM, KENT.

c. 1630. Arthur H. Vernay, Esq.

county, which is unmistakable alike in secular or in ecclesiastical woodwork. One of the most remarkable examples of these ornate West-country panellings is the Exeter room in the Victoria and Albert Museum, illustrated here in Fig. 310 and Figs. 312 to 316. For the purpose of showing the difference in decorative character more easily

Fig. 341.

OAK PANELLING AND MANTEL FROM SHERARD HOUSE, ELTHAM, KENT.

c. 1630.

Arthur H. Vernay, Esq.

by a comparison of photographs than by a written explanation, a pilaster from Lime Street, which is of London design and workmanship, is placed, in Fig. 311, side by side with those from Exeter. The Lime Street example may be some twenty years the later in date, but the character of these carved pilasters does not alter appreciably from 1600 to 1620.

This oak room from Exeter is one of the older acquisitions of the Victoria and Albert Museum, but, in its peculiar richness and strong French character, it is, perhaps, one of the most remarkable examples of pilastered panelling which the Museum possesses. It is totally unlike anything to be met with outside of the West-country. The Holywells woodwork, described and illustrated in the earlier pages of this chapter, is also French in inspiration, but the influence here is from the north, Normandy or Picardy, whereas, in this Exeter panelling it is from further south, the country watered by the Loire,—Anjou or Touraine, or even from Poitou. There is a logical method both of construction and design in this panelling, whether of frieze, pilaster or panel-framing, which is not found in the work of Rouen or the north of France, and, withal, there is an assortment of details, as in the strapping of the base rail in Fig. 312, which indicates an English origin for this woodwork. The frieze panels, four of which are shown in Figs. 313 to 316, show the admixture of Low-Country Italian and Southern-French motives which formed the basis of the later Tudor style, a manner which, although it varies considerably in different parts of England,—as, for example, in Lancashire, Warwickshire and Cheshire on the one hand, and the Home Counties on the other,—yet has a general basic resemblance which

Fig. 342.
OAK PANELLING.
In the Treaty House at Uxbridge.
Early seventeenth century.

establishes both a country and a date of origin. In the oak pilaster from Lime Street, Fig. 311, for example, we have the Home County exposition of the same manner, as it afterwards developed in the hands of London craftsmen. The original source is Italian, but the Exeter panels have this influence transmitted through Southern-French channels, whereas, in the case of the Lime Street pilaster, the design is more typical of the work of Flanders. Even in the Exeter pilasters, which are, in reality, two pairs rather than four, there is, in the shafts, evidence of two designers, both impregnated with the same manner, yet manifesting such influence, each in a different way. In the frieze panels, the same dual authorship can be noted, as in Figs. 313 and 314, for example, or in a still more marked fashion, in Figs. 315 and 316.

Fig. 343.
ROTHERWAS, CO. HEREFORD.
An oak-panelled bedroom.
Early seventeenth century.
C. J. Charles, Esq.

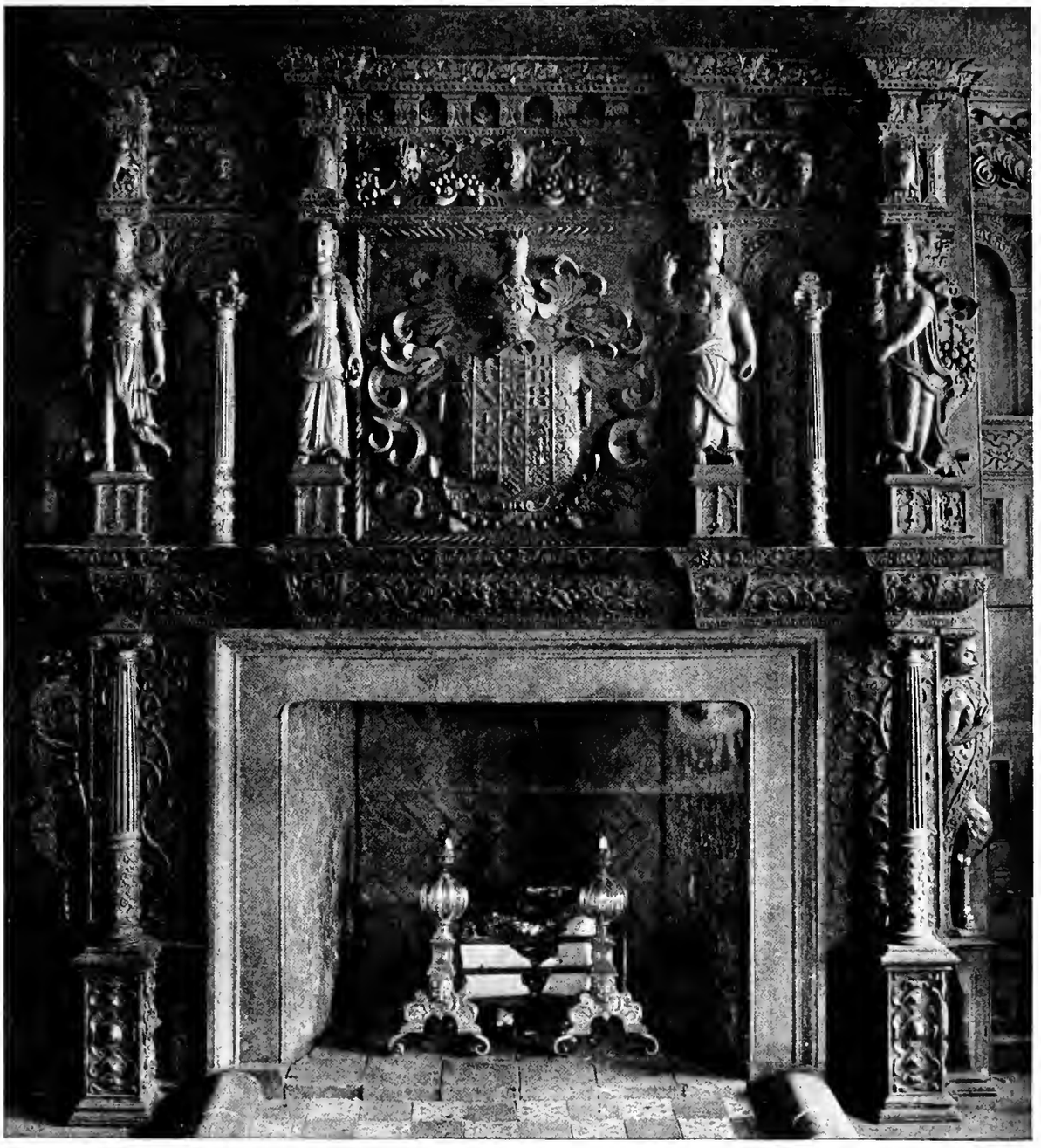


Fig. 344.

ROTHERWAS, CO. HEREFORD.

Oak chimney-piece in the Walnut Banqueting Hall (see Fig. 340).
The shield shows the twenty-five quarterings of the shield of Bodenham.
The arms of Bodenham are a fess argent on field azure between three chess rooks or.
Early seventeenth century.

C. J. Charles, Esq.

In considering the mantel from the old house of Sir Orlando Bridgman at Coventry, now in the Bablake Schools, a doubt was expressed whether such a style as "Elizabethan" could be said to exist, in English woodwork. If we refer to a period only, then the name is justified, but if a homogeneous style be indicated, then it is highly misleading. The Lyme Park mantels are in the late-sixteenth-century manner of their locality (although of a subsequent date), and the same may be said of Devonshire in

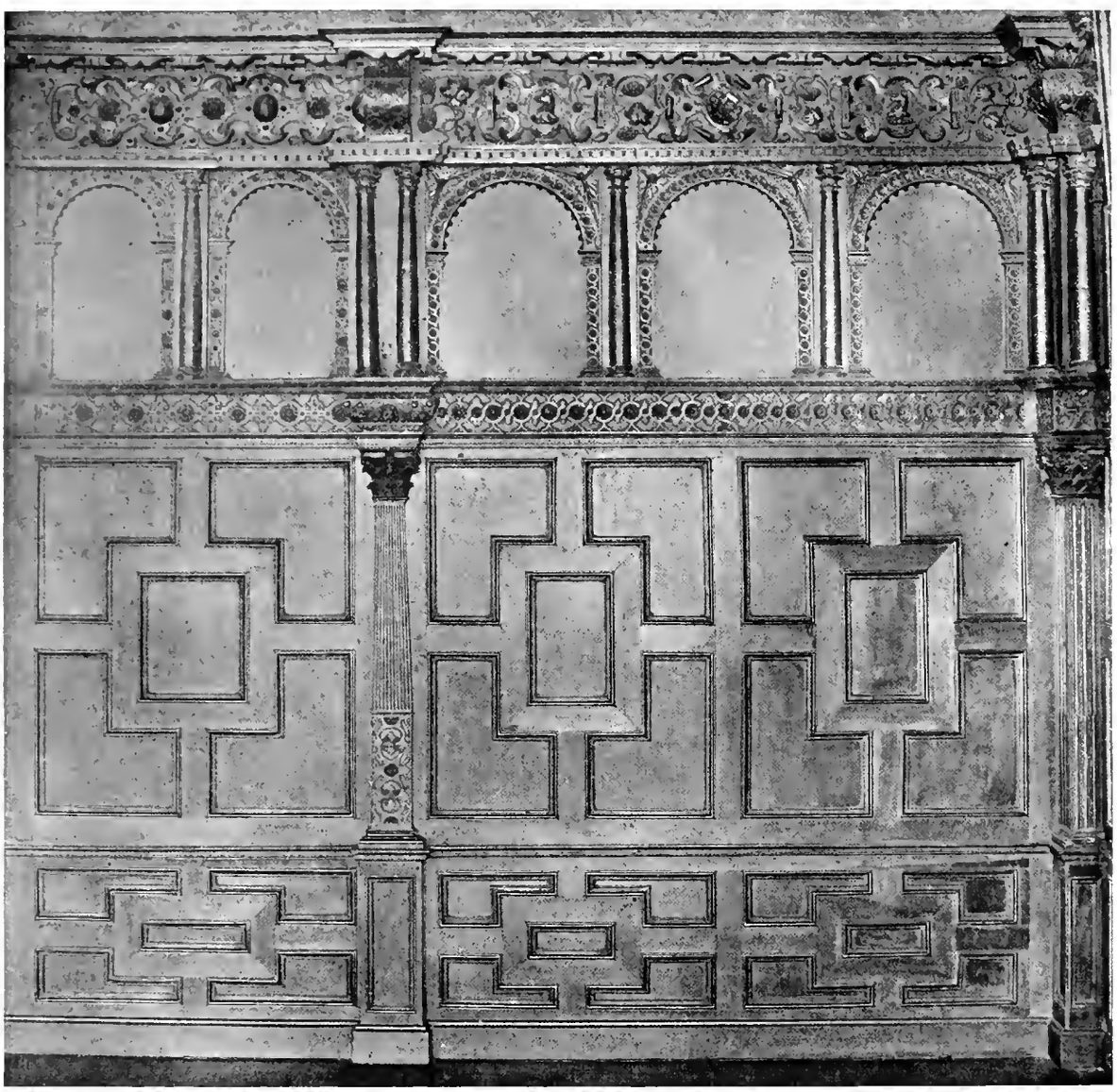


Fig. 345.

ROTHERWAS, CO. HEREFORD.

The walnut panelling in the Banquet Hall.
Early seventeenth century.

C. J. Charles, Esq.

the case of the Exeter panelling. We have now to see what was done in the rich county of Norfolk at the same period. Here we are considering houses, built not for nobles, but for plain traders, merchant adventurers whose ships sailed into many an unknown sea, whose captains and crews were acquainted with the Spanish Main, who had listened to many a story of El Dorado or Manoa. Hard fighters by sea and land were these men, and,—it must be confessed,—hard swearers and drinkers to boot, ready to defend ship and cargo, and not averse,—be it only whispered,—to engaging in a little buccaneering on their own account.

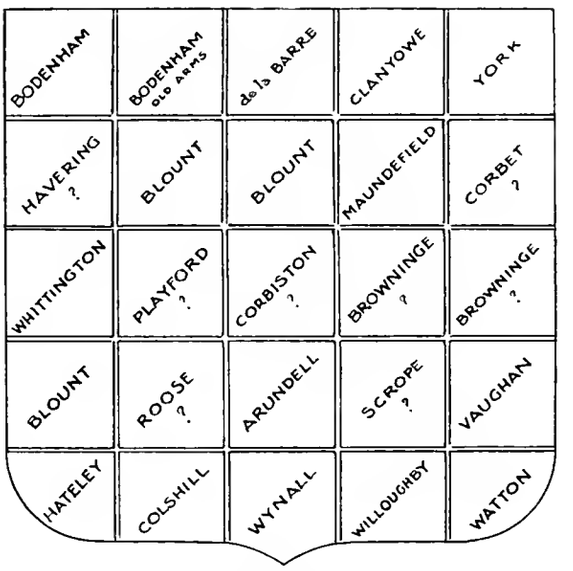


Fig. 346.

THE TWENTY-FIVE QUARTERINGS OF BODENHAM OF ROTHERWAS

See Fig. 344.

We may begin with a house on the Old Quay at Yarmouth, known for many years as Fenner's, divided at a later date into two, with the numbers 53 and 54. In the early seventeenth century it was the property of William Burton, bailiff of Yarmouth, one of those men who, without actually signing the death warrant of Charles I, did more to instigate his execution than many of those who did. Burton, however, was not the builder who carved the date, 1595, on the frieze of the overmantel shown in Fig. 319. Who he was does not appear, but he must have been a merchant, as this was the traders' quarter of a seafaring town. Having finished the house, he panelled the rooms with rich wainscotting. That from the north front room on the ground floor is shown in Figs. 317 to 319. The panels, of fine quartered oak, are large, unusually so for this period, and are divided, vertically, at each third panel, by broad fluted pilasters with carved capitals. Between each of these is a frieze of two long narrow panels. Above the wainscotting is a band of moulded plaster, with a ceiling of reeded interlaced quatrefoils, with vine tendrils and bunches of grapes as ornamentation. Elaborate pendants cover the join at each intersection of the reeded strapping. The mantel, of which the upper part is illustrated in Fig. 319, is exceptionally choice. It is in three panels, with beautifully carved figures between each, with scrolling in high relief, and undercut in a truly wonderful manner. The same paper-scrolling is employed in the frieze panels, with the date, 1595, carved to crown the achievement.

In the panels were, formerly, painted coats of arms, but these are now nearly obliterated.

Close to Fenner's is the Star Hotel, once the house of William Crowe, one of Elizabeth's Merchant Adventurers, who emblazoned the Company's Merchants' Mark on his mantel. Whether the panelling which he put in was inspired by that in Fenner's, or the reverse, or whether both of these wainscottings are from the same date, and hand,—which is the more probable,—we can only conjecture. Crowe was bailiff of Yarmouth on two occasions, in 1596 and 1606, so he must have been a man of high esteem in the town. That no more than a year or two divides the woodwork of both houses is reasonably certain.

Fig. 347.

ROTHERWAS, CO. HEREFORD.

Oak panelling in the James I Room. See Fig. 348
Early seventeenth century.

C. J. Charles, Esq.

Fig. 348.

ROTHERWAS, CO. HEREFORD

Oak mantel in the James I Room.
Early seventeenth century.

C. J Charles, Esq.

As a repetition of one's own words can hardly be regarded as plagiarism, the following, from the "*Burlington Magazine*," gives a description, with measurements, of the room shown in Figs. 320 to 326, written after a close examination of the panelling.

"Whether William Crowe conformed to the strictness of the Heralds' College in the carving of his mantel, and bore the arms of his Company on a 'target hollow at the chief flankes' is difficult to say; the work is not quite in original state. Thus the dexter *Sun in Splendour* on the shield has disappeared together with the globe *or* between two arms *embowed* in the crest. The tail of the dolphin, sinister, has also suffered.

"The room measures 24 ft. in length by 19 ft. 7 ins. in width. The panelling, of

Fig. 349.

ROTHERWAS, CO. HEREFORD.

Oak panelling and mantel in the Julius Cæsar Room.
Early seventeenth century.

C. J. Charles, Esq.

fine quartered and ' silver figured ' oak, is in two stages, the lower with heavy bolection mouldings and fluted pilasters with Corinthian capitals and bases. Above is an arcading flanked with boldly carved caryatids, alternately male and female. In these arches will be noticed one of the few remaining suggestions of the earlier Gothic traditions. The total height of the panelling, to the classical capping moulding under the plaster frieze, is 9 ft. 10½ ins. The frieze itself is of modelled plaster, with strapped and interlaced ornament, a similar *motif* being repeated on the beams of the ceiling. The latter is coffered and slightly groined (another Gothic tradition) in large panels enriched with moulded plaster ribs and ' pendentes.'

" The chimney-piece, 8 ft. 1 in. in width and 5 ft. 2½ ins. to the springing of the

Fig. 350.

ROTHERWAS, CO. HEREFORD.

Another view of the Julius Cæsar Room.
Early seventeenth century.

C. J. Charles, Esq.

arch of the opening, governs the heights of the panelling stages. The detail of the overmantel, to a larger scale, is shown in Figs. 323 and 324. The designs of the carved frames surrounding and flanking the arms are the finest features of the whole room. The curious arrangement of the caryatides or carved figures resting on conventionalised bulls' heads, which are repeated all round the room, will be noticed in the larger scale photograph. The execution of the carving is very crisp and fine, entirely different from the usual crude cutting associated with Tudor work ; witness the figures immediately flanking the central panel, for example. Another exceptional feature is the interior porch in the corner on the left of the chimney-piece, shown in the separate illustration. Two doors have been contrived, one in each angle, and above are two intricately moulded panels. These internal porches are rare, not more than three or four other examples

Fig. 351.

BILLESLEY MANOR, WARWICKSHIRE.

Panelling and mantel in the Hall.
Early seventeenth century.

H. Burton Tate, Esq.

Fig. 352.

BILLESLEY MANOR, WARWICKSHIRE.

Oak panelling in a Dressing-room.
Early seventeenth century.
H. Burton Tate, Esq.

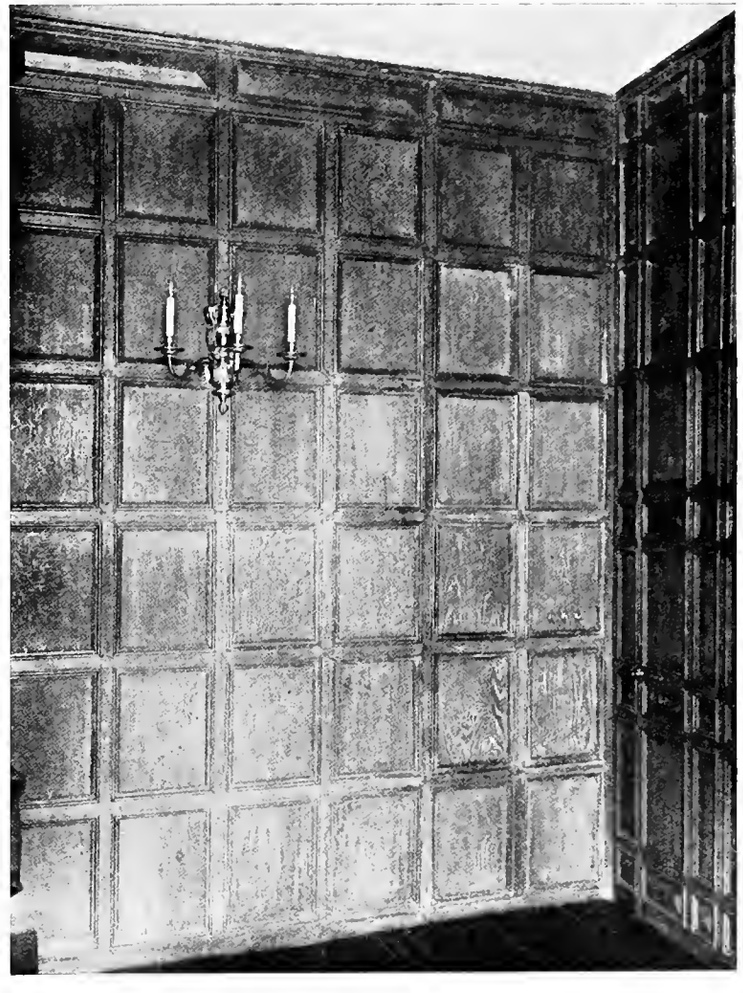


Fig. 353.

BILLESLEY MANOR, WARWICKSHIRE.

Oak panelling in the Shakespeare Room.
Early seventeenth century.
H. Burton Tate, Esq.

being extant at the present day. One of the best-known is in the oak hall at Sherborne Castle in Dorsetshire. The idea is probably a modification of the 'Skreens' in the great halls of the Early Tudor period, where the family life was more public and primitive than in the later days of Elizabeth, when the long gallery superseded the great hall as an integral part of the country mansion of the wealthy or noble English family.

"This old room in the Star Hotel is exceedingly interesting for many reasons. It is probably the most elaborate specimen of late Tudor woodwork of its kind extant, especially when its location in the house of a former Yarmouth merchant is considered. It is in almost perfect condition, very little of the original parts being missing or mutilated, and it has never suffered from subsequent alteration, such as partitioning, replanning or other of the modifications which the room in Sparrowe's House at Ipswich, for instance,

Fig. 354.

BILLESLEY MANOR, WARWICKSHIRE.

Mantelpiece in the Shakespeare Room.
Early seventeenth century.

H. Burton Tate, Esq.

has undergone. Another point of great interest to the antiquarian is the late character of the work at such early date. In the absence of historical records it would have been referred almost certainly to the middle Stuart period."

The pilaster of East Anglia and the Home Counties in the first years of the seventeenth century is usually much less ornate than the West-country style, with capitals either of plain mouldings or simple flat Ionic form. The shafts are generally carved with a flat strap-work pattern, similar to an applied fret, with little or no undercutting. The general characteristics of early-seventeenth-century East Anglian and Home County panellings are simplicity and lightness of mouldings and general refinement of details. That from the Palace of Bromley-by-Bow, Figs. 327 and 328, may be taken as a type of this kind. This woodwork is an instructive example in two ways. We know its

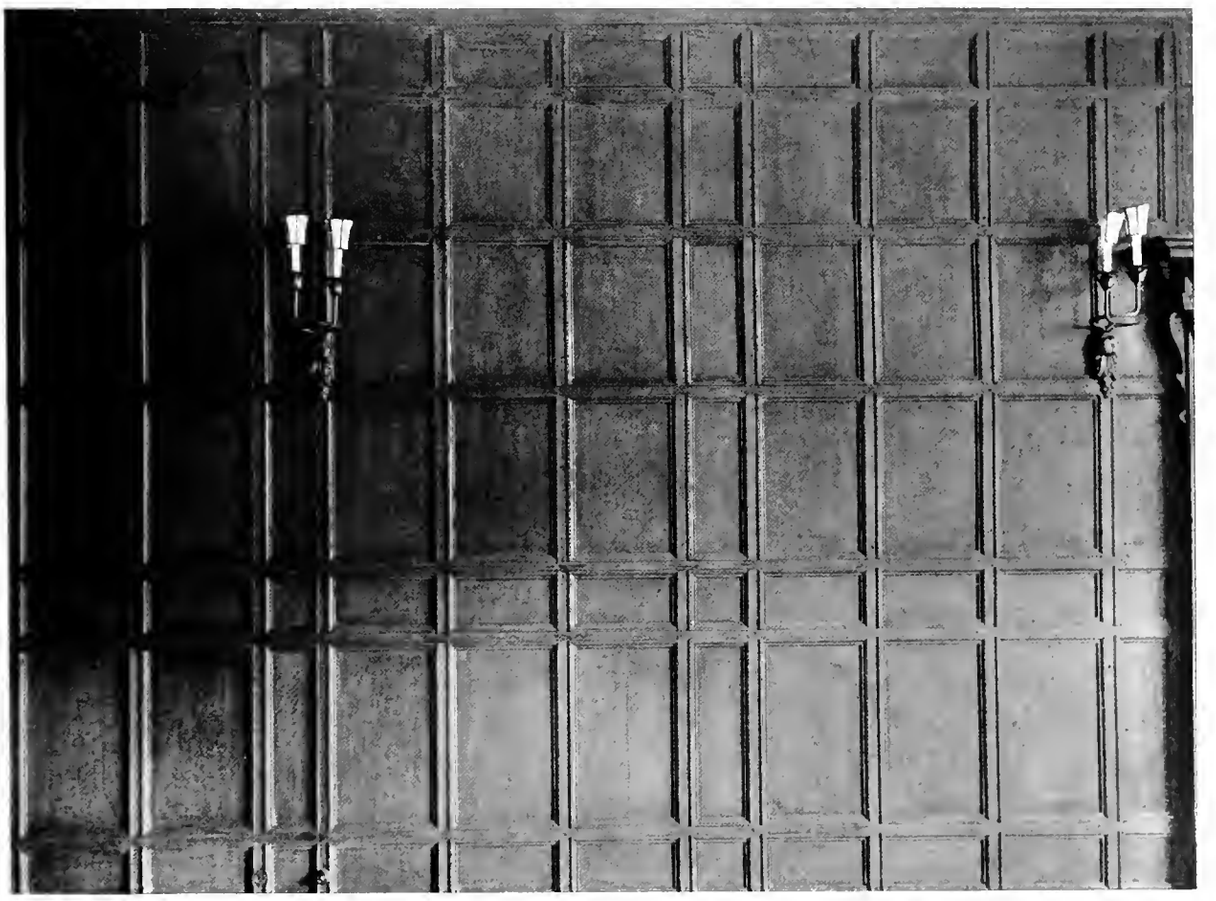


Fig. 355.

BILLESLEY MANOR, WARWICKSHIRE.

Oak panelling in the Dining-room.
Early seventeenth century.

H. Burton Tate, Esq.

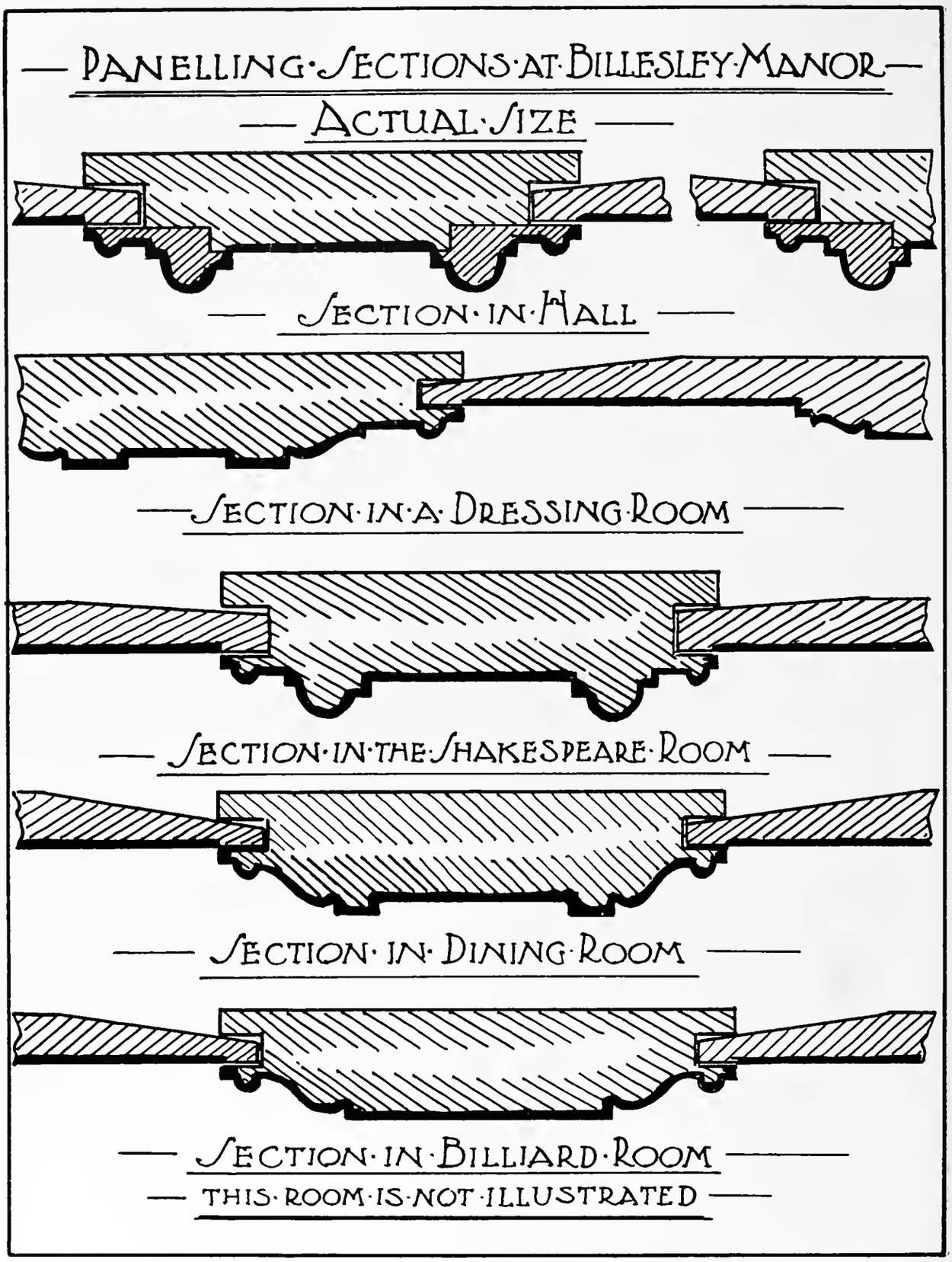

PANELLING·SECTIONS·AT·BILLESLEY·MANOR
ACTUAL·SIZE
SECTION·IN·HALL
SECTION·IN·A·DRESSING·ROOM
SECTION·IN·THE·SHAKESPEARE·ROOM
SECTION·IN·DINING·ROOM
SECTION·IN·BILLIARD·ROOM
THIS·ROOM·IS·NOT·ILLUSTRATED

Fig. 356.

actual date, and it is certainly local in make. The panel-arrangement, of a central upright rectangle surrounded by oblong panels, two vertically and two horizontally, with four squares, one in each corner, is, apparently, an obvious one, but is by no means usual in panellings of the seventeenth century. A similar pattern will be noticed again, later on, in an example from Billesley Manor. The mouldings of the pilasters, returning on the upright styles, indicate an early-seventeenth-century detail, as a rule. At an earlier date the base-mouldings were carried round the room in the form of a high dado, as in the two examples from Yarmouth. The mantel of this room is somewhat puzzling. The lower stage, from the corbelled shelf downwards, is undoubtedly coeval with the panelling, but the overmantel has the appearance of a later addition, and possibly from another county. We know that the panelling had been altered considerably in the Palace before it was finally taken down for removal to the Museum. On either side of the mantel two windows had been inserted in the eighteenth century, of a style quite incongruous, as compared with the original work. The chimney-piece must have had a plain back-board originally, on which all the moulding projections returned, but this is now missing, and the heavy shelf-moulding now returns on the panelling at haphazard, with an overhang beyond the styles, and with no attempt at scribing, the result being a gap between the back of the moulding-return and the face of the panel. It is unthinkable that

Fig. 357.
BILLESLEY MANOR.
Oak slab doors with steel box locks.
Early seventeenth century.
H. Burton Tate, Esq.

this was the original finish of the mantelshelf in a room of this quality. The overmantel, although the column-bases line with the corbel-strappings of the shelf below, is poor in design compared with the remainder of the room. The central coat of arms overpowers the whole composition, and the niches on either side are crested with meaningless fret-and-strap spandrels, the same work, with a coarseness almost Lancastrian, being used for a totally superfluous pediment. If this overmantel be an afterthought, it must be almost a contemporary addition. An examination of dates may suggest a reason. James I had been on the throne of England barely three

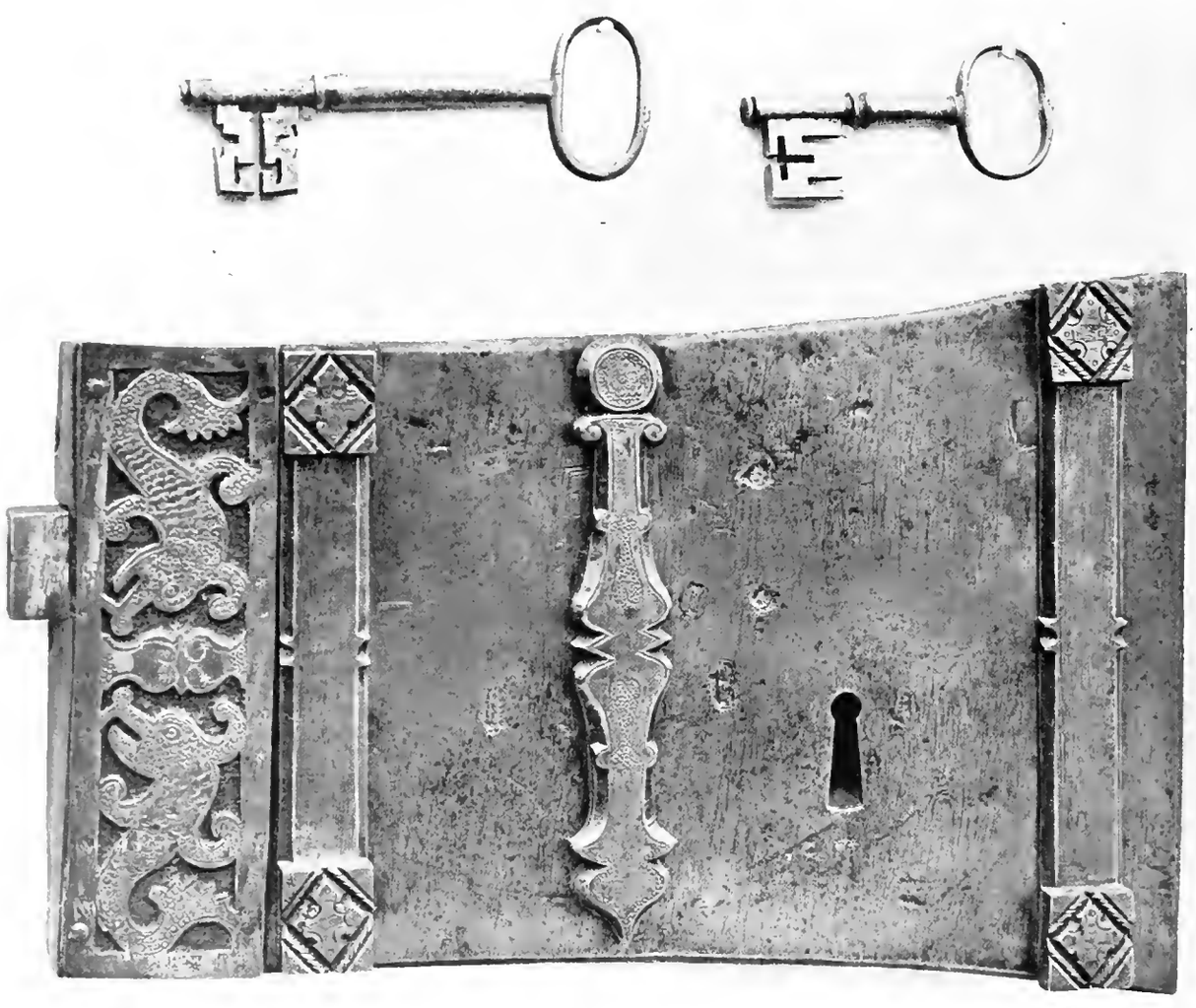


Fig. 358.

BILLESLEY MANOR. STEEL BOX LOCK.

14 ins. long by 9⅜ ins. extreme height.
Early seventeenth century.

H. Burton Tate, Esq.

years when this room was panelled, and it is doubtful whether he had adopted the unicorn, as the sinister supporter to the Royal Arms, at this period. The date, 1606, is also that of the completion of the Palace ; the work may have been in progress before the death of Elizabeth. It is possible that the room was completed with the mantel only, and plain panelling above,—which would be the logical finish in a room of this height,—the overmantel, designed round the carved coat of arms, being added a few years after. It is, certainly, a piece of unfortunate designing in an otherwise exceptionally refined room.

A very charming expression of this strap-work style, also of Home County origin, can be seen in Fig. 329, a chimney-piece of oak, made without overmantel, the intention being to carry a flank of the room panelling over the mantelshelf. Fig. 330 shows a free copy of this mantel with its missing shelf-returns replaced, and surrounded by panelling in this manner. The effect is simple but very charming, when compared with the very ornate chimney-pieces of this period.

It is inevitable that the Home County expression of the Renaissance during the last quarter of the sixteenth and the opening years of the seventeenth centuries should

Fig. 359.

THE REVERSE SIDE OF THE LOCK, FIG. 358, SHOWING THE ARMOURER'S MARK.

vary according to the inspiration of the designer or the skill of the workmen. Such details as the interlacing strap-work and scrollings, applied keystones, bosses, diamonds or split balusters, appear to be general in this work, although the degree of artistic skill with which they are used ranges from the highest quality to the mediocre. To the first belongs the charming oak panel, Fig. 331. Both design and execution are superb, suggesting the hand of a foreign carver, whether from France or Flanders, it is difficult to say. The influence of Jean Goujon is apparent, but his strap-work, as at St. Maclou, is here intermingled with the Italian motives of wreath and ribbon in a manner which is foreign to his style. The wood is English quartered oak, a timber usually

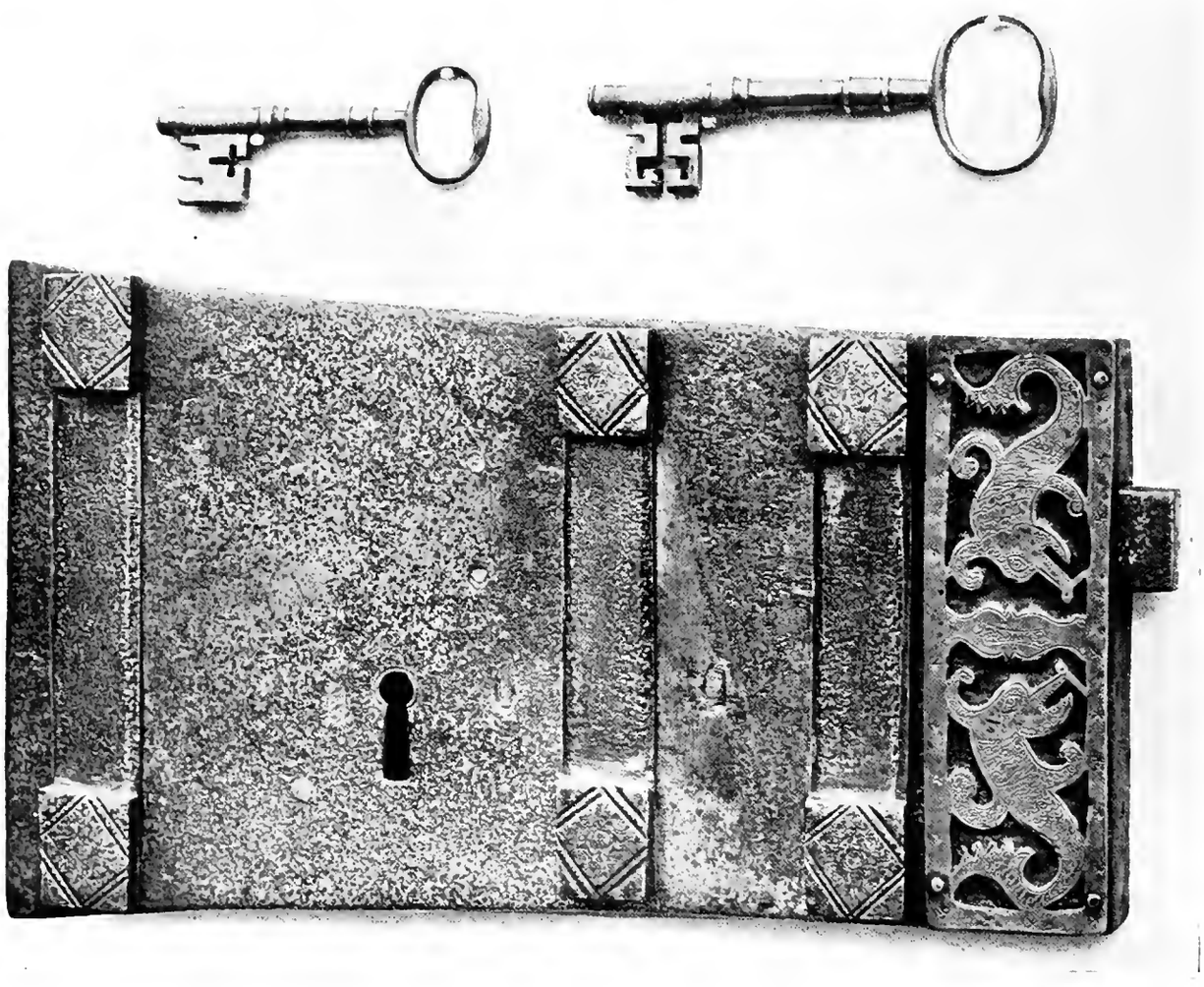


Fig. 360.

BILLESLEY MANOR. STEEL BOX LOCK.

14½ ins. long by 9 ins. extreme height.
Early seventeenth century.

H. Burton Tate, Esq.

harsh and ungrateful for fine cutting with the carver's gouge, yet the work here is of the uttermost refinement and delicacy. The treatment of the interlacing of the strap-work forming the surround to the egg-and-tongue-carved inner frame is masterly. The same handling, in stone instead of wood, can be remarked in the mantel lining of Fig. 329, which is unmistakably an English production, however strongly influenced it may be from abroad. It suggests that this panel may be of English origin also.

There are few, if any, details in English furniture and woodwork which persist for so long as the fret (applied or cut in the solid wood) with enrichments of split-

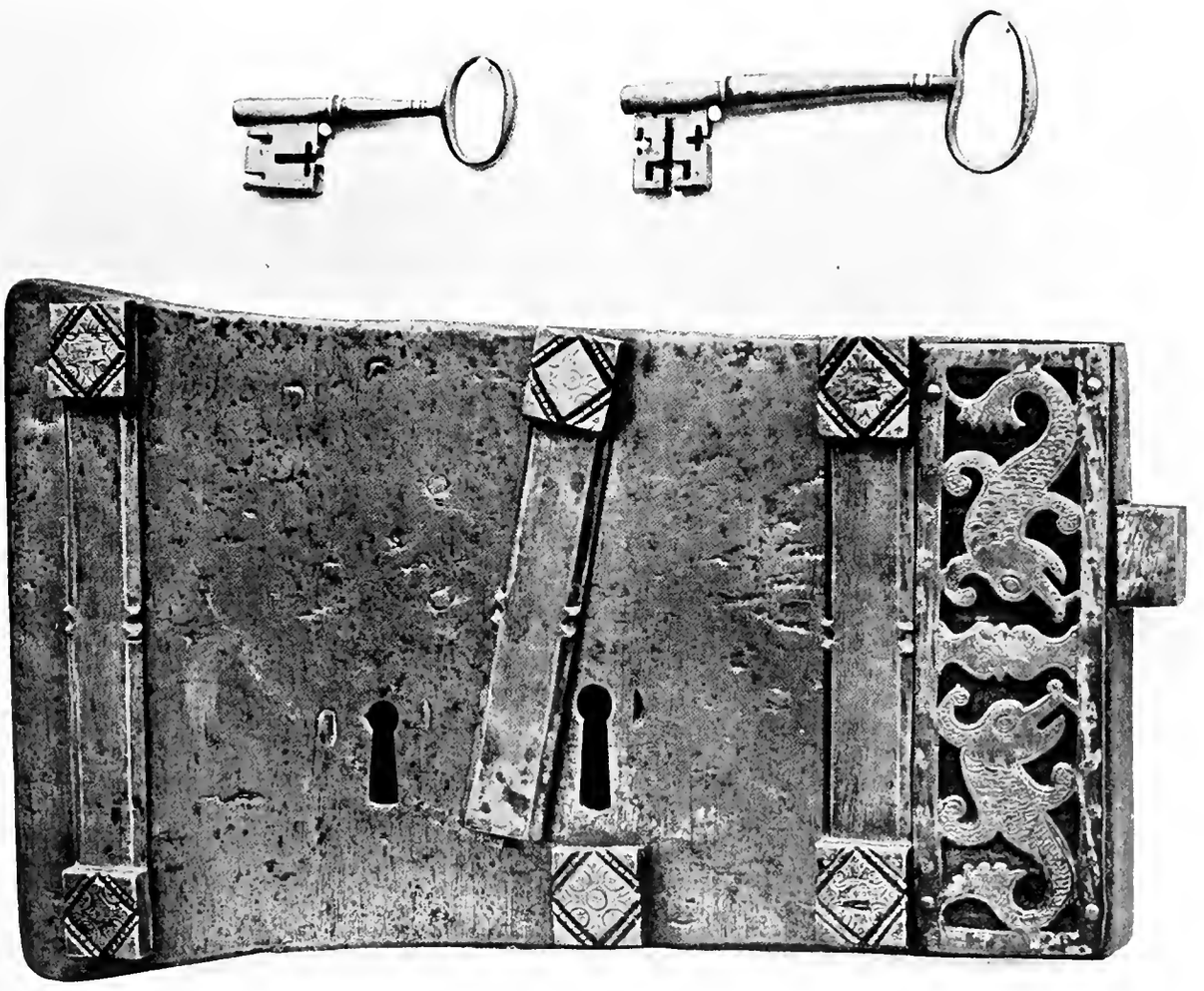


Fig. 361.
BILLESLEY MANOR. STEEL BOX LOCK.
14⅜ ins. long by 9½ ins. extreme height.
Early seventeenth century.
H. Burton Tate, Esq.

balusters or bosses. This "strap-and-jewel" work is found in panellings and chimney-pieces even as early as the closing years of the sixteenth century; it is also met with on cabinets and chests as late as the last quarter of the seventeenth. The reasons for this popularity are not difficult to surmise; this decoration has the merit of cheapness; it permits of the use of various woods, such as bog-oak, for the bosses or balusters, and it gives an effective play of light and shade, and by the most simple means. The three mantels from Lime Street, in the City of London, illustrate this very well. The designs are exceedingly effective, yet there is a remarkable absence of expensive work. They

Fig. 362.

BILLESLEY MANOR. STEEL BOX LOCK.

12 ins. long by 8 ins. extreme height. Key 7 ins. long over all.
Early seventeenth century.

H. Burton Tate, Esq.

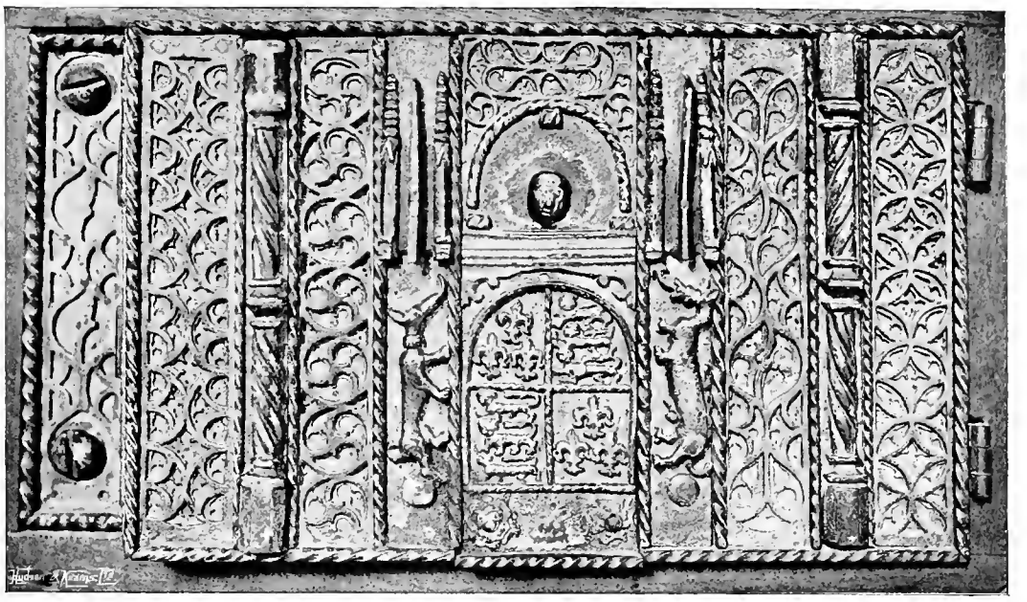


Fig. 363.

BEDDINGTON MANOR HOUSE. STEEL DOOR LOCK.

Late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

could be reproduced, by modern "mass-production" methods, almost without modification. The moulded oval panel, quartered and strapped over with moulded keystones, is used with considerable skill for this period, in Figs. 332 and 334. In the first the relief is by means of facetted bosses; in the second these take the form of turned buttons. In all four, Figs. 332 to 335, effective use is made of the split-baluster and the oval or circular boss. The charm of all clever designing,—the introduction of the unexpected,—is fully understood. There is the play of line in the key-cornering of the framings in Figs. 332 and 334, in the framed tablets of Figs. 333 and 335, in the first, with the mouldings broken up by the lateral and vertical strappings, in the second, by the clever mitring of the inner framings. The pilasters, with their downward taper, are redeemed from mediocrity of design by the applied frets and split balusters, an effect achieved with the uttermost economy of means. In Fig. 332, the dentil-course under the cornice is mitred forwards in four distinct stages (an extravagance), whereas in Fig. 333, the breaks are formed by cutting the dentil-course, and inserting the moulded cappings to the tablets of the frieze; and economy could go no further.

This Home County expression of the Renaissance, the credit for the development of which can be divided equally between Flanders and Northern France,—Rouen and its neighbourhood,—is interesting, the more especially as so many examples exist of

which both the date and the locality of origin are known with certainty. Thus, the front of Sir Paul Pindar's house, Fig. 336, formerly in Bishopsgate Without, shows what was the fashion in London in 1600. Sir Paul Pindar was Ambassador at Constantinople from the Court of James I between 1611 and 1620. Bishopsgate was a fashionable quarter at this date, containing many important houses, such as Crosby Hall, for example. In the panels of this timber house is the vigorous manner of paper-scrolling, or voluting, which was the 1600 London fashion, as perpetuated in the Coventry mantel already illustrated in Fig. 300, together with design-motives culled from an even earlier date and another district. In every detail of this Bishopsgate house, in panels, pilasters

Fig. 364.

OAK-PANELLED ROOM.

A typical example of the 1640 period.
Hampshire type.

or brackets, is the expression of what may almost be described as the true Elizabethan style, so often confounded with the work of the later Stuart period, and yet both unmistakable and widespread. It can be found as far north as Levens Hall in Westmoreland and as far south-west as Lanhydroc in Cornwall. It is also the direct progenitor of the woodwork such as the Lime Street mantels.

If the details of this Bishopsgate house are in the London manner of their period, it must not be imagined that the house itself is of a style usual in the East of England, still less so in London. In construction,—it is really formed of two huge frames,—in its breaks, angles, projections and central semicircular oriel window, it is far more typical of Devonshire than of London. Here in the metropolis this house must have been exceptional and striking even at the date when it was built ; in Exeter, apart from its

Fig. 365.

OAK-PANELLED ROOM.

Date about 1640. J. Albert Bennett, Esq., Photo.

rich ornamentation, it would have fallen in with the scheme of things, and have aroused little comment.

The panelled rooms, with their mantels, which were removed, a few years ago, from Sherard House at Eltham, are examples of this Lime Street, or typically Home County manner of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and at the same time instances of how these old panellings were esteemed. A portion of one of these rooms is illustrated in Fig. 338 which will show, partly, the state they were in when discovered. The word " partly " is used advisedly ; a portion of the many wall-papers, with their canvas backing, has been removed, and fragments of the later plaster cornice have been hacked down. The original work could not have been obscured better, had the attempt been made deliberately. The mantels were coated with paint so thick as almost to fill up the details, not only of the carving, but the moulding as well. Where fine woodwork

Fig. 366.
ANOTHER VIEW OF THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM, FIG. 365.

Date about 1640. J. Albert Bennett, Esq , Photo.

is in situ, *and preserved*, there may be two opinions as to the morality of its removal and sale, but with instances such as these rooms from Sherard House there can only be one.

Sherard House owes its name to a later owner, William Sherard, LL.D., Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, a native of Leicestershire, who was born in 1659, or more probably to his brother James, who bought the house at Eltham in 1718–19. Both brothers

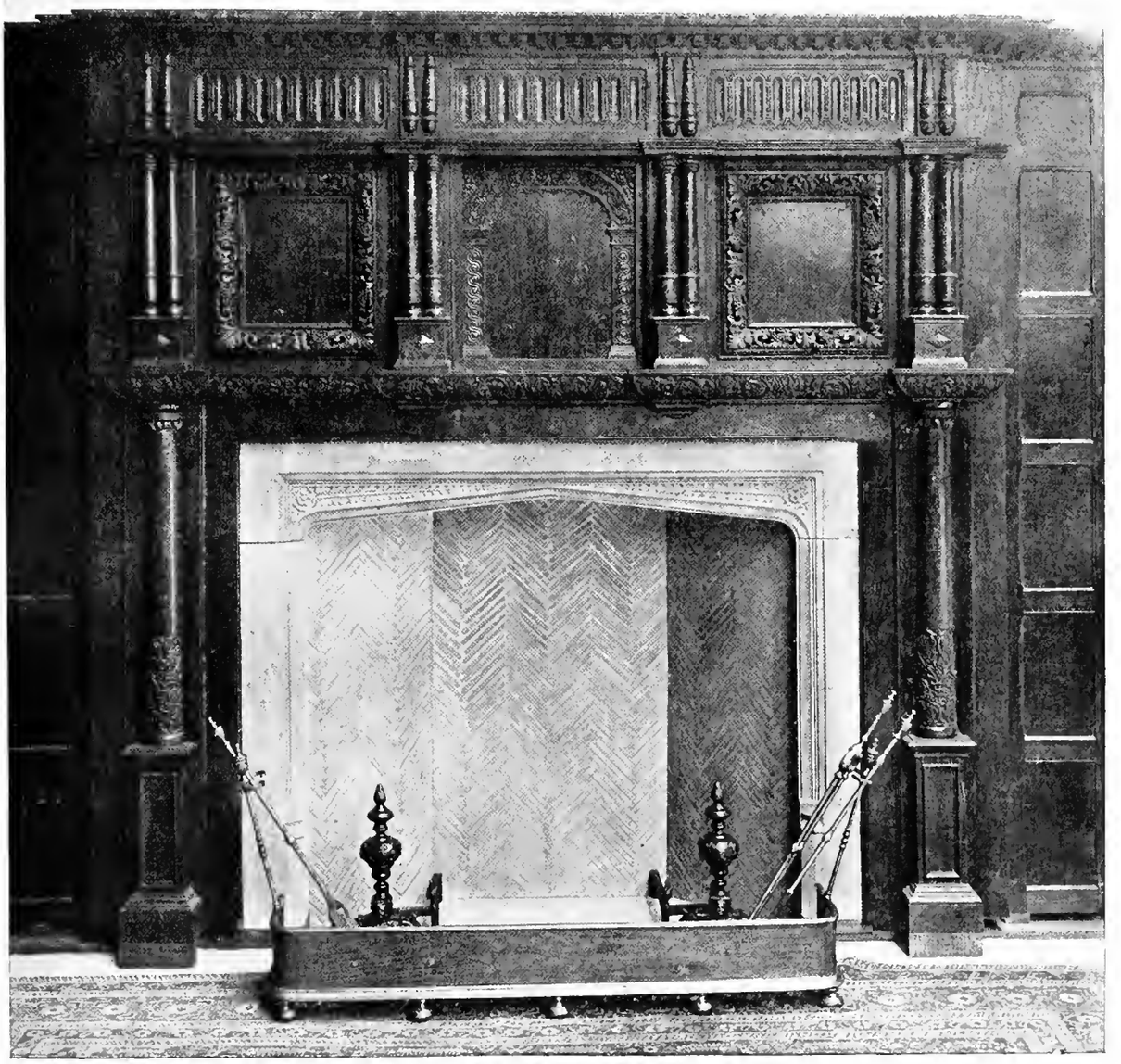


Fig. 367.

OAK CHIMNEY-PIECE AND PANELLING.

From Swann Hall, Suffolk.
Date about 1650–5.

Messrs. Robersons.

Fig. 368.

OAK MANTELPIECE.

Total width 7 ft. 8½ ins. Total height 6 ft. 11½ ins. Wood opening 5 ft. 2 ins. by 4 ft.
Stone opening 3 ft. 6½ ins. by 3 ft. 1½ ins.
Date about 1640-50.

J. Dupuis Cobbold, Esq.

Fig. 369.

OAK MANTEL.

Width over jambs 7 ft. 10 ins. Over cornice 8 ft. 5 ins. Total height 7 ft. 11 ins.
Wood opening 5 ft. 11 ins. by 3 ft. 9 ins.
Date about 1050.

J. Dupuis Cobbold, Esq.

were celebrated botanists, but it is to James that Sherard House owed its wonderful collection of rare plants, the world the two books "*Hortus Elthamensis*,"—famous in their day,—and Oxford the nucleus of its famous Botanical Gardens.

This interesting Eltham house is shown in Fig. 337. On one of the rain-water heads is the date 1634, but this is late, by some years, for the mantels and panellings, yet almost a century earlier than the windows and the doorway. These latter were probably the work of James Sherard after he acquired the house in 1718.

The wainscotting of these Eltham rooms is simple in design, practically the same pattern being adopted throughout, of scratch-mouldings carried through in the vertical styles, with the upper edges of the lateral rails left square or slightly bevelled. The oak everywhere is of superb quality. The mantels are all variations of the Lime Street manner, differing considerably in their design, but relying, for decorative effect, on the use of elaborately mitred mouldings. All three shown here in Figs. 339 to 341 have the quarter-round sectioned shelf, with a small projection, strapped over by flat trusses to carry the pilaster-line from mantel to overmantel. In Fig. 339 an ingenious use is made of the half-mitre in the pilasters of the upper stage. Fig. 340 has a single central alcoved niche or apse, flanked on either side by moulded panels very intricately mitred. Fig. 341 has the decoration of applied fretting and semi-balusters on the downward-tapering pilasters, those of the overmantel having, on their bases, a representation of the coursing of masonry. There is a considerable degree of quiet charm in these three Sherard House mantels, and, considering the self-imposed limitation of the designer, the result, achieved by the inexpensive means of ingenious use of the mitre and half-mitre, is distinctly successful.

Fig. 370.
OAK PANELLING.
The type of 1670–80.

It was intended, at first, to illustrate these rooms as restored and re-erected in New York, with the stone linings replaced, but, on consideration, it was decided to show them in situ, before removal, with the later grates masking the original fire-openings, and with no attempt at restoration beyond the

stripping of the wall-papers necessary to expose the panellings and a local removal of the paint to ascertain the quality of the oak beneath. In some of the rooms in the house a later high skirting had been nailed over the panelling, and every effort appears to have been made to disguise the original work, almost beyond recognition as such.

Fig. 371.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM FROM CLIFFORD'S INN.

General view. Date 1686–8.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Renaissance in England appears to develop on coarser and cruder lines in the counties of the Western Midlands, beginning as far south as Gloucestershire and terminating with Lancashire. Cumberland and Westmoreland do not seem to have originated a distinctive style of their own, at least in the seventeenth century. Many of these Midland panellings evidently found their way to the south, as, for example, that in the Treaty House at Uxbridge, Fig. 342. This woodwork is, unquestionably either of Midland or Welsh bordering-county origin. It is interesting as showing the error of attributing panellings of the early seventeenth century to the localities in which they are found, at the present day. The chief characteristic of the Midland and Western-Midland panel is its heavy mouldings of the bolection type. The inner framed panel, as in the upper part of this Uxbridge panelling, also appears at an earlier date in these districts than in the East Anglian counties, where its presence is almost a certain indication of the later seventeenth century.

This Uxbridge wainscotting is neither choice in design nor high in quality, and it has suffered in alterations and adaptations, but it is instructive in showing that fixed panellings are not always original to the house they are in, even when they have been there for a century or two.

The Western character of this Treaty House panelling can be better estimated by a comparison with an oak-panelled bedroom from Rotherwas, in County Hereford, illustrated here in Fig. 343. This is woodwork original both to the house it was in,—until its removal and sale a few years ago,—and to its locality. Here is the same heaviness of moulding and depth of panel-recessing as in the Uxbridge woodwork. When we place the Bromley-by-Bow room on the one side,—which is of Home County make,—and this bedroom from Rotherwas on the other, with the Uxbridge panelling between, the Western-Midland origin of the Treaty House woodwork will be appreciated.

Rotherwas, the home of the Bodenhams, whose shield of twenty-five quarterings can be seen on the fine mantel, Fig. 344, and the key to which is given in Fig. 346, is an estate which figures in Domesday, situated near the River Wye and within two miles of Hereford. It was de la Barre property until the death of the last male of the line, Sir Charles, in 1483, when Rotherwas came into the hands of Roger Bodenham as next-of-kin. There are innumerable Rogers in the Bodenham family history, and this one was the son of another, whose father, John Bodenham of Dewchurch, had married Isabella, heiress of Walter de la Barre. Thus the grandson inherited by reason of the alliance formed by his grandfather. The last direct descendant of the race who died in 1884, Charles de la Barre Bodenham, thus perpetuated, in his name, this last de la Barre of Rotherwas. Although not as lords of Rotherwas, the Bodenhams are of considerable antiquity in Herefordshire. In the reign of Edward I, William Bodenham is lord of Monington and many other parks and mansions in the valley of the Wye. Of the Rotherwas of the early sixteenth century, only a small part remains, converted into private chapels and adapted for the accommodation of the priests who had attached themselves to the Catholic Bodenhams.

Of the woodwork original to the early-sixteenth-century house, none appears to have survived. The great house of that period was neither panelled nor furnished in a day, and at Rotherwas there are signs that a century of possessors added to its woodwork. From the late period of Elizabeth dates the overdoor already illustrated in Fig. 307, but this appears to be the only remaining fragment of the sixteenth-century woodwork in the house.

Additions were built on by one of the many Roger Bodenhams in 1731, and to the new house many of the old panellings were removed. There are no records of work at Rotherwas in the early seventeenth century, yet at this period all the mantels and panellings shown in these pages must have been put in. Blount describes the house, in the seventeenth century, as " a delicious seat . . . abounding with a store of excellent

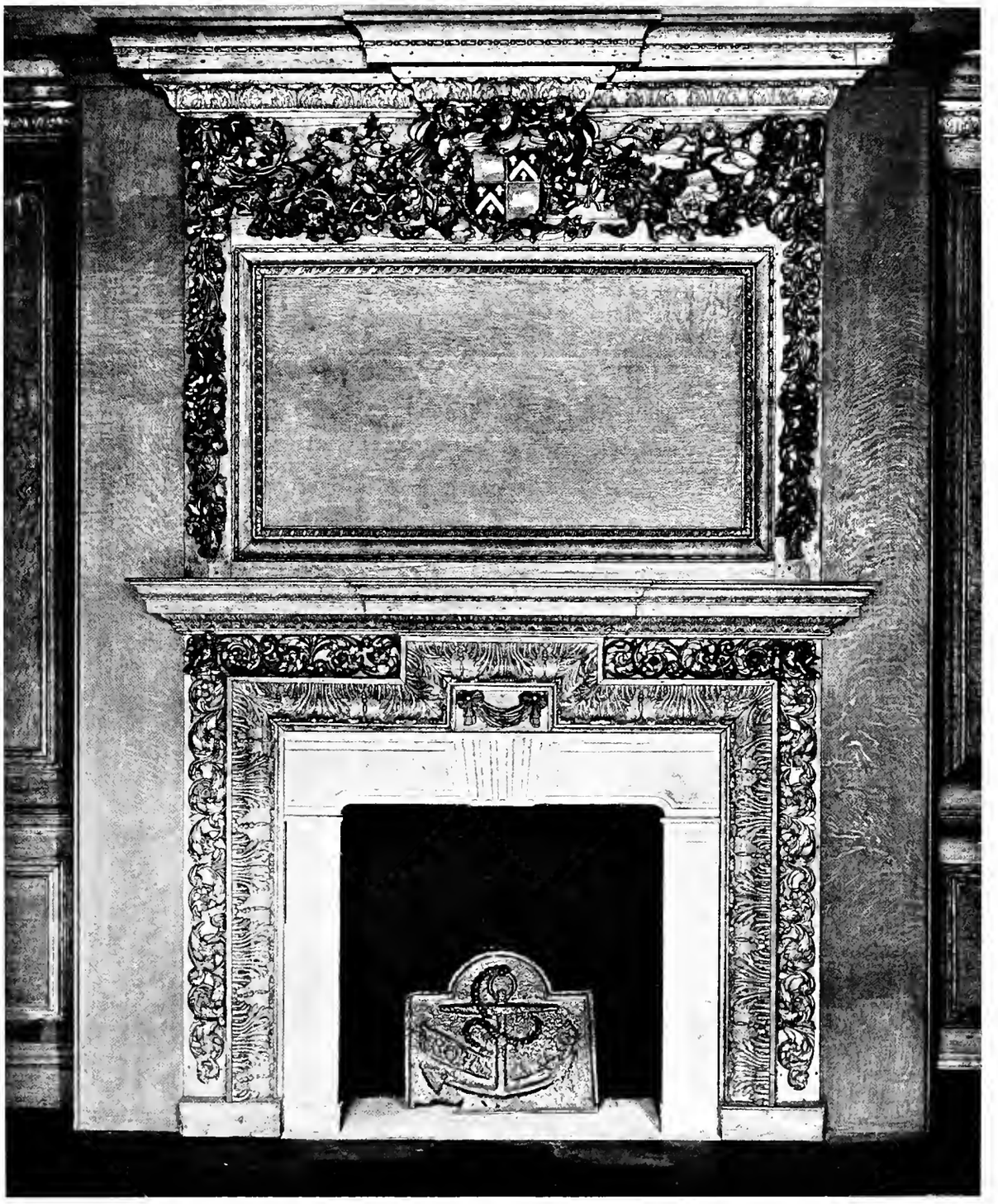


Fig. 372.

OAK CHIMNEY-PIECE WITH APPLIED CARVINGS FROM CLIFFORD'S INN.

Date 1686–8.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

fruit and fertyle arable land, having also a park within less than half a myle of the house. There is a fair parlour full of coats of arms according to the fashion of the age, and over that a whole Dyning Room wainscotted with walnut tree, and on the mantel of the Chimney twenty-five coats in one achievement."

Of the " fair parlour full of coats of arms," nothing remains, unless the overdoor, Fig. 307, was a part of the room. The description, however, reads more like a panelled room with painted armorial frieze-panels above, similar to the Abbot's parlour at Thame, and dating from the early years of the sixteenth century. The walnut panelling, with its oak chimney-piece and the " twenty-five coats in one achievement " are shown in Figs. 344 and 345. The use of walnut for this panelling is difficult to understand, as the tree is not a native of England, although some authorities assert that it was known here in the time of the Romans. There are records which state that the tree was imported from Persia and first planted at Wilton Park by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery about 1565. Apart from some liability to the attacks of the wood-worm (although the instance of the great roof of Westminster Hall shows the English oak is, by no means, immune from these ravages) it is a reliable wood for panellings, easy to work and carve, and obtainable in wide boards. Yet it does not appear to have been used for this purpose at any time, in England, even when it replaced oak as the popular wood for furniture. It is inferior to mahogany in durability, yet mahogany, also, is rarely, if ever used for panellings in the eighteenth century, when it was the exclusive furniture timber. The presence of walnut at Rotherwas is exceptional, but may have been imported. If the theory that the tree was first planted in England in 1565 be tenable, it could not have acquired a sufficient maturity to have been available for wide panels in the early years of the next century.

Ornate as this Rotherwas woodwork is, in the Banquet Hall, it is still characteristically English in conception and execution. The oak mantel is decorated in polychrome, and above the shelf are four caryatid figures, representing Justice, Fortitude, Temperance and Prudence. The walnut panelling consists of a lower or base tier of inner framed panels placed lengthwise, a middle section with similar panels upright, divided by fluted pilasters with carved capitals, and an upper tier of arcaded panels with turned half-columns between, the whole surmounted by an elaborately carved and truss-bracketted frieze in the high-relief strap-work of the early seventeenth century. This woodwork must be regarded as an exceptional effort on the part of the owner of Rotherwas, and there is little doubt that designers and craftsmen from the South-east of England were imported into Herefordshire for its execution. Figs. 347 and 348,

Fig. 373.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM FROM CLIFFORD'S INN.

Detail of a door.
Date 1686–8.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

known as the James I room, is typical of its locality, and is, probably of prior date to the Banquet Hall panelling. It is unusual in having a tall arcaded panel below and a short one above, with two tiers of square panels between. The extensive use of the gadroon is typical of Cheshire and Lancashire at this date.

The panellings in what was known as the Julius Cæsar Room, Figs. 349 and 350, are more refined in character than in the James I room, but are still local in type. The panels are large, framed in with separate mitred mouldings, and the pilasters are slender and without taper or entasis. The timber is quartered oak of exceptionally fine figure and quality. Of the three caryatid figures on the overmantel, the one on the right bears a superficial resemblance to a Roman soldier, from which circumstance the name of the room was probably derived. The heraldic shields in the two panels are in original polychrome.

It must be remembered that none of these Rotherwas panellings were in original situ at the time of their removal in 1912. They had, in nearly every instance, been adapted to the eighteenth-century house with some necessary rearrangement of the panelling flanks. Many examples of the woodwork of James II and Anne at Rotherwas, in unusual woods, such as yew and sycamore, also existed, and were readapted at the same time. The Bodenhams were Royalists, and, as such, suffered considerable hardships during the Commonwealth. Between 1620 and 1685 no work appears to have been undertaken at Rotherwas, and none of importance was put into the house after 1625. The last of the Bodenhams, Count Lubienski Bodenham, died in 1912.

Billesley (it is Billeslei in Domesday) is a Warwickshire village and a manor house, some miles from Alcester. The manor has both a Saxon and a Norman history, but it is with the later house of the seventeenth century that we are concerned here. It has records of considerable antiquity. It is entailed on the heirs male of Sir Alured Trussell, Knight, in the sixth year of Richard II (1382). The Trussells appear to have held Billesley, although much of their property in Norfolk, Berkshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Essex, passed with the marriage of Elizabeth Trussell in 1523 to John Vere, afterwards Earl of Oxford. Thomas Trussell is Sheriff for Warwickshire and Leicestershire in this year, and was, doubtless the owner of Billesley. Dugdale asserts that he is buried in the Billesley church of All Saints, but we shall have more to say about this church a little later on.

Another Thomas Trussell, the fifth in descent from the Sheriff of Warwickshire, is the last of the family to hold Billesley, as in 1604 it is sold to Sir Robert Lee, Kt., the son and heir (although he is the younger of two brothers, Henry and Robert) of Sir

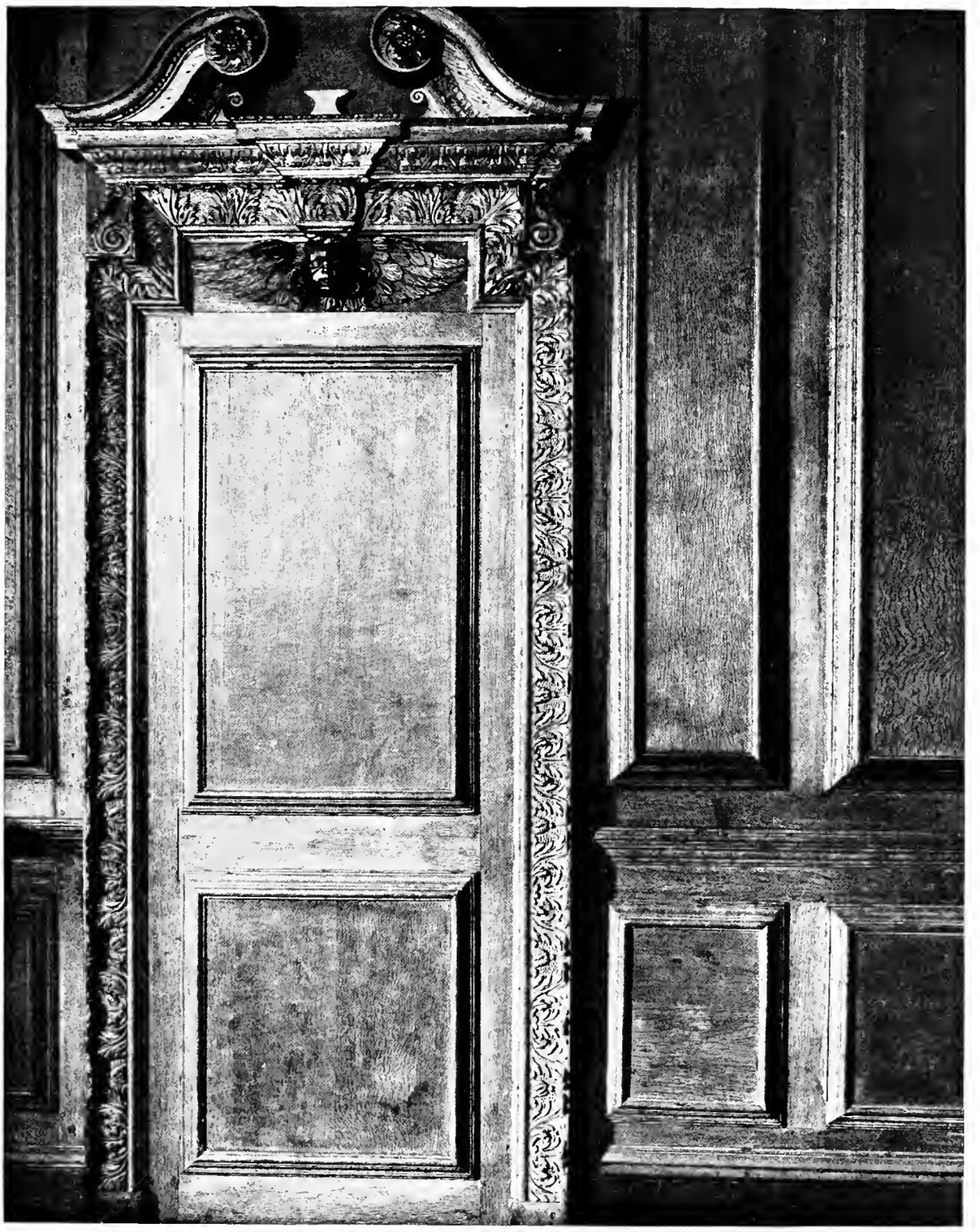


Fig. 374.

THE OAK-PANELLED ROOM FROM CLIFFORD'S INN.

Detail of a door.
Date 1686–8.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

Robert Lee, Alderman of the City of London, and, later, Lord Mayor. The Trussells appear to have held Billesley, in unbroken succession, since 1165, when Osbert Trussell had the manor of William, Earl of Warwick, for the service of one Knight's fee.

Sir Robert Lee made Billesley his country seat, and sixteen years later, he, in turn, is High Sheriff for Warwickshire. Whether his brother was the same Sir Henry Lee who was Master of the Armoury at the Tower in 1580, is not certain, but there is some evidence, as we shall see later, to show that he was, probably, a connection, at least. The date is interesting, as the renowned Jacob Topf was Court Armourer at this period.

With the later history of Billesley we have little concern. The Lees held it until about 1690, when it was sold to Bernard Whalley, who appears to have done little or

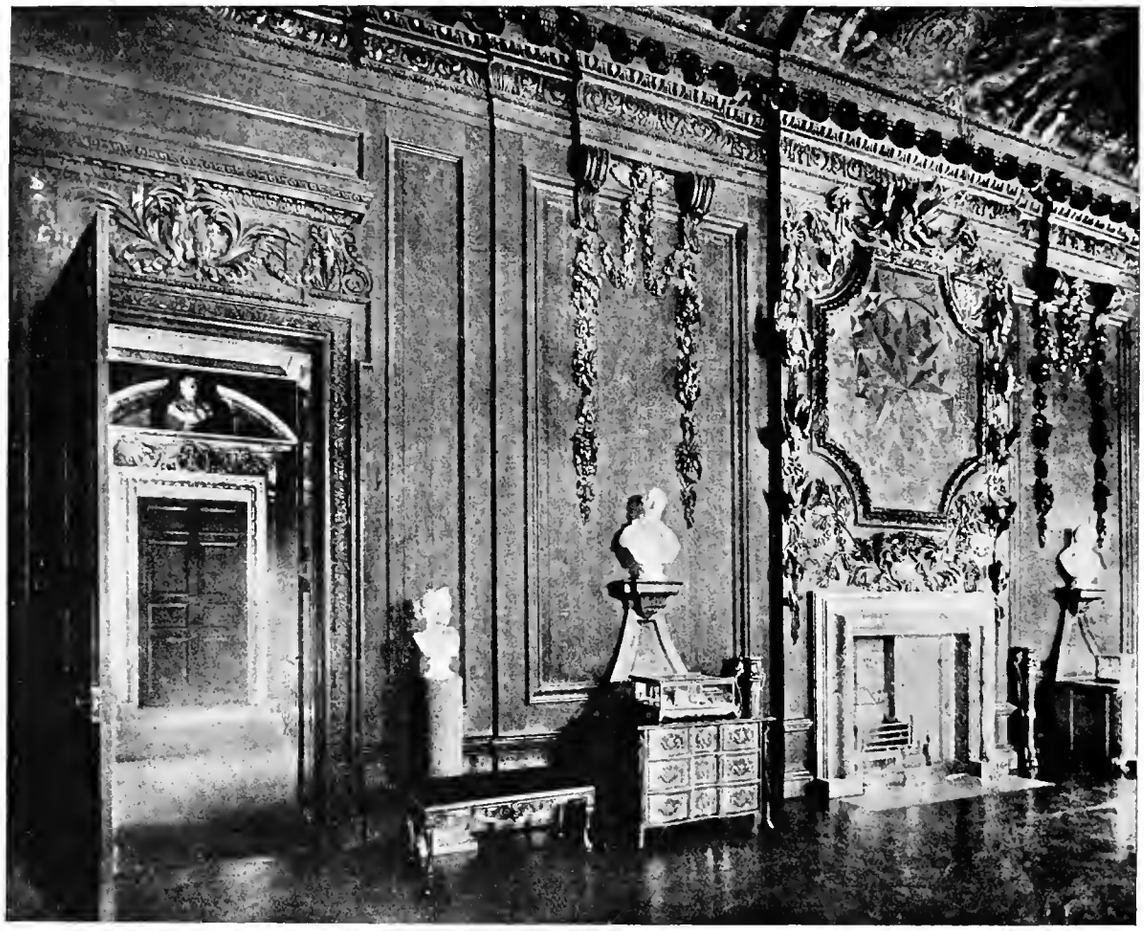


Fig. 375.

CHATSWORTH, DERBYSHIRE.

The State Dining-room, sometimes called the State Great Chamber.
Date 1690–4.

The Duke of Devonshire. J. Albert Bennett, Esq., Photo.

nothing in the house although Dugdale claims that he rebuilt the church. From the same authority we learn that the Trussells, Lees and Whalleys lie in the churchyard, but it is the arms of Whalley, argent three whales' heads razed sable, which are glazed in the East window.

There is a mystery here; of this Whalley church not a vestige remains, and what is even more strange, the churchyard with its tombs has disappeared likewise. The present church of All Saints is a small structure, evidently composed of windows and fragments from a secular house of the late seventeenth century. When it was built, or what became of the Whalley church, or of the family tombs, is quite unknown. Still more strange, the signposts show the way to Billesley; it figures on the ordnance

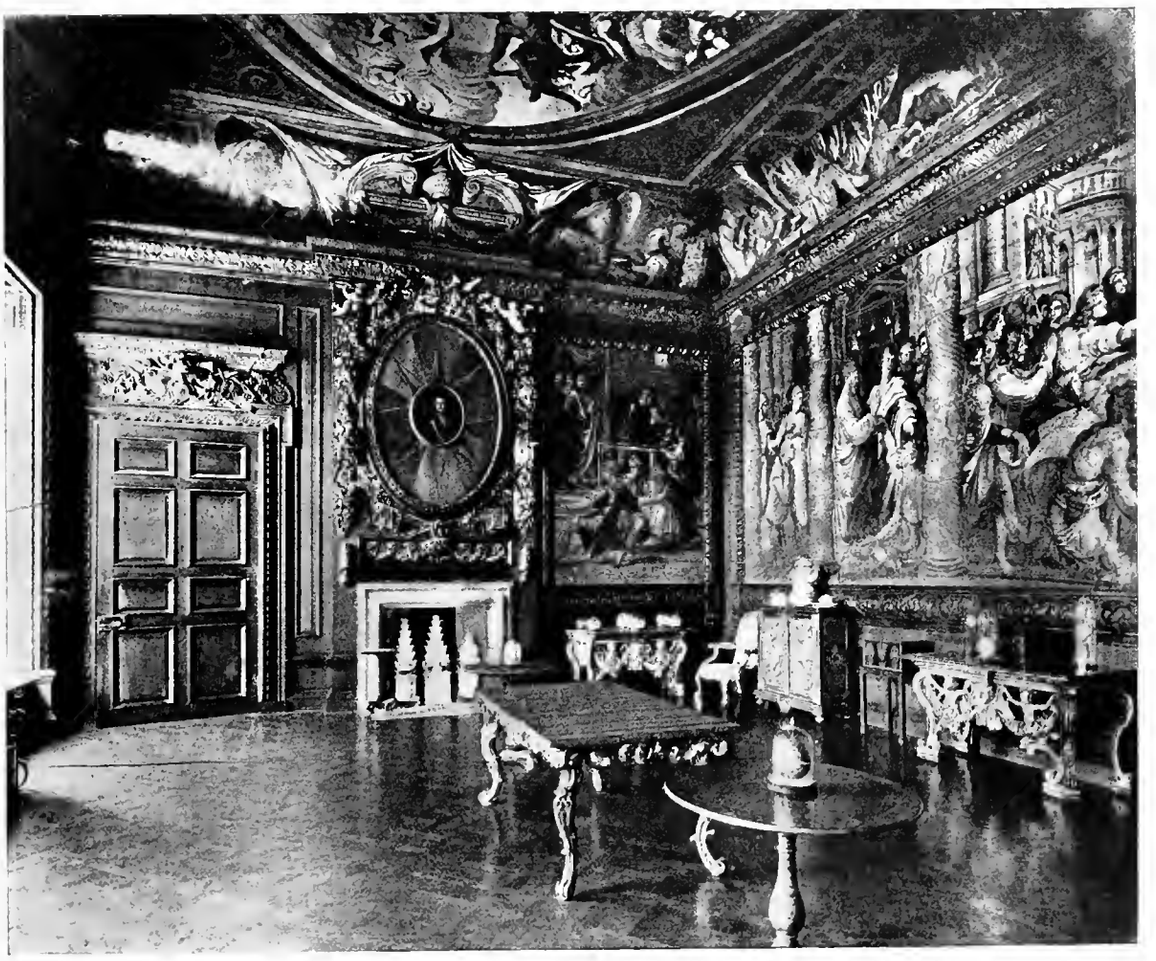


Fig. 376.
CHATSWORTH, DERBYSHIRE.

The State Drawing-room.
Date 1692–4.

The Duke of Devonshire. J. Albert Bennett, Esq., Photo.

surveys, yet the village has also disappeared without trace, nor has it been known to exist since the Black Death swept its population away in the early fifteenth century. There is, therefore, not only a church, with East (chancel) window glazed with the Whalley arms all complete, but an entire village also, which must be reckoned among the missing, lost without any records, antiquarian or local. Gone also is the flowered cross of the Trussells, the silver and black shield of the Lees and the whales of Whalley.

In recent years the house fell on evil days, one half being reserved to the owner of that time, the other (walled off) being let to a farmer. It was left in this state until the present proprietor restored it in 1912.

The panellings at Billesley are exceptionally fine both in wood-texture and moulding section. That these were put in by Sir Robert Lee is almost certain, but for which rooms they were made is not so clear, as the house had been altered a good deal, and was much neglected prior to 1912. There is evidence of both local and London work in these wainscottings. The London connections of the Lees (the father, Sir Robert, we must remember, was Alderman and Lord Mayor in 1602) would account, in some measure, for this duality. Thus the Hall mantel, Fig. 351, and possibly the panels with their pilasters, are of Warwickshire origin, and the same may be said of the Shakespeare Room, Fig. 354, where the mantel is made from oak with applied bosses and strap-work of pear and other fruit woods. The panelling in a Dressing-room on the first floor, a corner of which is shown here in Fig. 352, has the appearance of being East Anglian work. The moulding sections are extraordinarily delicate, and the oak is superb in quality and figure. In Fig. 356, details of the mouldings in the principal rooms are given, and the second from the top shows this room.

The panelling in the Dining-room, Fig. 355, bears a strong resemblance, both in panel-arrangement and section, to that of the Bromley Palace room, already illustrated in Fig. 328, enough to suggest a London origin for this woodwork.

There are four large, and very remarkable steel locks on the upper room doors at Billesley, which indicate a connection between Sir Robert Lee and the Armoury of the Tower of London. In Fig. 357 are two of the slab doors with their locks in situ. These locks are peculiar in possessing only one bolt, which acts as a latch if operated by the key outside. Another key on the inside of the door double-shoots this bolt and secures it so that the outside key is inoperative. In Figs. 358 to 362, these locks are shown, Fig. 362 only having a single, and an original key, which can be used from both sides of the door. Under the pierced outer rim of these locks is a backing of leather, originally red, but now black with age. Each lock, excepting Fig. 362, has two keyholes on the

Fig. 377.

CHATSWORTH, DERBYSHIRE.

Landing on Second Floor, showing alabaster door case and iron staircase by Tijou.
Date 1689–94.

The Duke of Devonshire. J. Albert Bennett, Esq., Photo.

outside, one masked by a pivoted covering-piece of forged steel. In Fig. 359, which is the reverse of Fig. 358, the mechanism of the lock can be seen, together with the Tower armourer's mark at the end of the bolt. The projecting knob actuates the latch from the inside in the same way as the key does on the outside.

The fashion for these elaborate steel locks is a survival from the first years of the sixteenth, if not the later part of the fifteenth, century. The early examples are exceedingly rare, but at Beddington Manor House one still exists which dates from the reign

Fig. 378.
WOODCOTE PARK, EPSOM.
Ante-room (formerly Chapel) Doorway.
c. 1690.
J. Albert Bennett, Esq., Photo.

of Henry VII. It is illustrated here in Fig. 363. These elaborate locks must have been very rare, however, at all periods, as, on this scale of elaboration, they could only have been made for the houses of the very wealthy. They must have been the product of the armourer's craft rather than that of the smith, and were highly esteemed at the time when they were made. On their present-day value it is idle to speculate.

The woodwork of Western Sussex and Hampshire is characterised by a vigorous coarseness, quite different in type from that of Lancashire or Cheshire. Hampshire panellings almost achieve a refinement by their reticent use of ornament. Fig. 364 shows the type, with rebated door, flanked by pilasters which have little or no relation to the surrounding panelling. The pilaster-bases, with central facetted rectangle, surrounded by coarse and somewhat meaningless ornament, indicate a county without many artistic traditions. The same somewhat uncouth character is shown in the room, Figs. 365 and 366, where the panels are coarsely scratch-moulded, with little or no symmetry. The mantel is, unquestionably, the best part of the whole composition. It may be noted that towards the middle of the seventeenth century these oak panels tend to become larger. The full development in this direction will be illustrated later on.

Norfolk and Suffolk possess their own style in mantels, wall panellings and in furniture. The East Anglian characteristics are more easy to illustrate than to describe. The woodwork varies

Fig. 379.
WOODCOTE PARK, EPSOM.
The Ante-room (formerly the Chapel).
c. 1690.
J. Albert Bennett, Esq., Photo.

from very simple to the most ornate, yet it is the constructive details which are usually carved; ornament is rarely introduced, as in the case of the Devonshire and Somersetshire work, merely for its own sake. There is, in consequence, a quality of repose, which, allied with a clean-cut sense of proportion, gives an appearance of richness which is not entirely due to the amount of carving introduced. Thus the simple mantel and panelling from Swann Hall, in Suffolk, Fig. 367, of about the last years of the Commonwealth period, have a satisfying sense of ornament introduced in just the right degree and manner. The Dutch or Flemish element is never absent in this East Anglian work, but this is in no way remarkable, considering the close commercial associations which existed between Norfolk and Suffolk and the Low Countries from the first years of the sixteenth century,—or even before,—until the accession of George I in 1714.

The somewhat later, and more elaborate, versions of this East Anglian manner are shown in the two mantels, Figs. 368 and 369. Both are at Holywells, Mr. J. D. Cobbold's house at Ipswich. The first has the typical Suffolk composition of a truss-bracketted frieze with caryatid figures under, on small moulded bases, with a central inner framed panel (a favourite detail throughout almost the whole of England during the seventeenth century) flanked by two others, arcaded and pilastered. Both frieze and base of the overmantel are ornamented in flat strap-work patterns with slight undercutting. Fig. 369 is more ornate, although much of the interesting inlay does not show in the photograph. The arcading and pilasters of the three panels of the overmantel, are of red deal instead of the more usual oak. The oak panels are inlaid with bandings of interlaced diamond pattern, on the first from the left, a ship in full sail with a flag showing a red cross on a white ground, in the centre a painted globe on stand, with the inscription underneath,

> " He that travels ye world about
> Seeth Gods wonders and Gods works.
>
> " Thomas Eldred travelled ye world about and went out of Plimouth 21st of July 1586 & arrived in Plimouth again the 9th of September 1588,"[1]

and on the right-hand panel, a bust of a nautical figure wearing a lace collar of the Charles I period, in the act of using a sextant.

That this mantel, as in the case of the Yarmouth rooms, was made for another of

[1] In St. Clement's Church, Ipswich, is an inscription to the memory of this Thomas Eldred who accompanied Cavendish in his voyage round the world.

the Suffolk merchant adventurers, in this case of the middle seventeenth century, is highly probable, as no other would have commemorated the exploits of Thomas Eldred in this fashion. Numbers of these elaborate rooms have been removed from East Anglia, especially from hotels and inns, but where it has been possible to trace them back to their original sources, it is nearly always a merchant, usually one who was engaged in the woollen trade with Flanders or in adventures to the Spanish Main, who emerges from the mists of time. Frequently, these men were of Dutch extraction, and commerce with the Low Countries must have been exceedingly lucrative, judging by the ornate furnishings in which they indulged. Rich as this Holywells mantel is, with its quaint suggestion of ventures by land and sea,—probably a record of an ancestor

Fig. 380.

OAK-PANELLED ROOM FROM WHITLEY BEAUMONT.

Early eighteenth century. Messrs. Robersons.

more than half a century before,—the East Anglian decorative limit had been reached before the end of Elizabeth's reign as in the Yarmouth panellings already illustrated. Who built Fenner's House we do not know, but the second, as we have seen, was the private residence, or business house,—probably both,—of William Crowe, the Merchant Adventurer, possibly a merchant with a small filibustering branch to his business (they were not over-nice in their doings when on the high seas in the reign of Elizabeth). He is a merchant, however, and proud of the fact, as he places the arms of his Company in the centre of his mantel as a reminder to others of his status in the world of commerce.

Trade with Holland and Flanders had declined, towards the close of the seventeenth century, from the former high position it had occupied at the end of the sixteenth. The Netherlands had safely harboured Charles II before 1660, however, and when the King was called to ascend the English throne (Pepys was one of the deputation which went to fetch him) there is no doubt that the Hollanders were not forgotten. That the trade of Norfolk and Suffolk with the Netherlands revived after the Restoration is highly probable; and we shall see the reflex of this revival a little later in this chapter in Fig. 370.

There is one detail which is to be found in nearly, if not in all of this seventeenth-century woodwork which has been illustrated thus far; the panels are always of comparatively small area. Occasionally a joint in the panel was attempted, but rarely; in the majority of instances the wood is in the one piece.

The credit for the introduction of the large panel in the wainscotting of rooms must be given to John Webb, who, in the later years of the Commonwealth, had used it, with effect, at Thorpe, Thorney Abbey House, and elsewhere. It was obvious, from the outset, that such an innovation would come from an architect rather than from a practical joiner, or from one acquainted with the limitations, as well as the advantages, of oak, and with a wholesome dread of such incidents as cracking or warping of panels. These large surfaces once insisted upon, it was left to a practical carpenter to carry out the design in the best and safest manner possible. With the traditions of that date, some compromise was inevitable, and we find two methods sometimes adopted; in certain instances red deal (so often miscalled "pine") is used instead of oak, and in others the framing is applied direct with the plaster wall forming the panels. At Tyttenhanger we have the broad panels inserted in doors, but here they are of substantial thickness. That this wholesome fear of the large panel was very prevalent in the later Commonwealth years is evident by the fact that panellings from earlier periods were used in the new houses of that date, in many cases. It was as if the men who knew,

the carpenters and joiners, insisted on the small panel as a measure of safety, and convinced both architect and client that their views were just and sound.

It is just before the Restoration that we find decorative woodwork,—which had, hitherto, been the exclusive province of the joiner,—often left to the designing-skill of the architect, with a loss in constructional soundness but a gain in freedom and novelty. At the same time, especially in the East Anglian counties, the joiner still holds sway, copying older designs and methods, with the result that we get such examples as Fig. 370, which on the evidence of its details merely, might be referred to a much earlier date.

There are no details in this woodwork, apparently, which on the evidence of other panellings of the seventeenth century, would justify a date as late as 1670–80. It is of

Fig. 381.

RED DEAL PANELLING AND MANTEL.

Removed from a house at Leatherhead.
Early eighteenth century.

Messrs. Robersons.

either Norfolk or Suffolk origin, which is the first significant fact to be noted. Secondly, it is in the East Anglian furniture of the very late seventeenth century that we find this lavish use of the inner framed panel. The joiner-traditions persisted in these counties for many years, both in furniture and woodwork. When such pieces as long settles or benches are found, in these localities, carved with a date,—which is frequently the fact,—this is always later than one would expect,—judging merely by style,—and very often considerably so. We know that the new architects' manner of the large panel found very small favour in East Anglia, other than in the very large houses where the London architect was introduced, and, with him, in all probability, workmen from London. The fashion for painting, and even parcel-gilding of wood panellings was also coming into vogue at this date, and oak was being replaced by red deal. There still lingered, especially among the East Anglian traders who had connections with Flanders, a desire for the small-panelled wainscotting of oak, and these elaborately mitred inner framed panellings became the rule among the merchants of the two counties towards the close of the seventeenth century. There is a strong possibility that much of the furniture which corresponds, very closely, to this panelling in style, was made in the same districts, and for these houses. This, then, is the justification for dating such examples as Fig. 370 as late as 1670–80. The general style, although like some of the work of much earlier date, is quite distinct when examined in detail. It is an earlier manner persisting to a late date, but with considerable modifications.

It was, more or less, inevitable that an occasion would arise where the substitution of deal for oak, or the use of a plaster wall in place of a wooden panel, would fail to satisfy, and that the large jointed panel would have to be ventured. It is not literally correct, but is sufficiently so for our present purpose, to say that it is the use of large panels of wood, and especially the use of deal, which sharply divides the woodwork of the eighteenth from that of the seventeenth century. The oak room from Clifford's Inn, illustrated here in Figs. 371 to 374, is one of the very early examples of the use of large oak panels in the wainscotting of a room, other than in a large mansion. At Ham House, the panelling in the dining-room, in the same style of projecting panel with large raised bolection moulding, dates from some ten years before, but there is not the same panel area. At Shavington the panels are larger,—in some cases with four, and even five joints in them,—and with chamfered "fields," but the work here is contemporary with the Clifford's Inn room, almost to a year. It was also done for Viscount Kilmorey in the first year of the short reign of James II, and may be said to represent the most fashionable and matured manner of its time. Novel,—as it was for its date,—

and elaborate as this Clifford's Inn room is, it was made, not for a noble, but for a plain Cornish gentleman. It was in 1674, on the fifth day of February, to be precise, that John Penhalow took possession of a set of chambers in Clifford's Inn. In this No. 3, some twelve years later (another set of chambers was added to the first during that time), this superb panelling was completed and installed. By his agreement with the benchers John Penhalow had the double set of chambers, not only for his own, but for two lives beyond, and he lived here with his panelling for twenty-eight years. After him came his brother Benjamin until 1722, and he was succeeded by the third life, John Rogers. Whether the Penhalows or Rogers, or later tenants, were responsible for the numberless coats of paint with which the rich oak was daubed, it is not possible to say. Equally obscure is the name of the designer. He must have possessed taste and skill, and withal considerable daring, —or was it want of technical knowledge,—to have designed a scheme requiring oak panels of such large size, often as wide as thirty inches. Whoever he was, whether a pupil of Wren or a craftsman brought by Penhalow from his native Cornwall, he did his work well, selected fine quartered timber, jointed his panels so carefully that even the ray pattern is carried accurately from one section to the other, and in the wealth of fine carving above the mantel, inserted the arms of his patron, Penhalow quartering Penwarne.

Fig. 382.

25 MORTIMER STREET, LONDON, W.

Door and architrave in carved red deal.
1730–40.

There are four doors to the

room, two of the kind shown in Fig. 373, two with scrolled pediments as in Fig. 374, and two windows. The enriched mouldings are in solid oak, but the ornamentation of the mantel and the panels of the door pediments are of lime tree (originally nearly white, but now a warm brown) applied to the oak ground. The ceiling, originally, was of plain plaster. Obviously, it was not removed with the room. The panels, of fine quartered oak, are flat, without chamfers, and stand forward in front of the face of the framing in the rebates of boldly-projecting bolection mouldings.

The work may have been inspired from that of Wren or Webb or more probably from both. It has Webb's sections in the enriched mouldings, especially in the door architraves and overmantel, and the applied carvings owe much to Gibbons. Yet there is a sense of scale and of restraint, in idea of what could be justified in a room 18 ft. 6 ins. by 14 ft. 10 ins., and with a height from floor to ceiling of only 9 ft. 10 ins., which one would not expect from Wren, Webb or Gibbons, accustomed, as they were, to rooms of vast size. When we approach the direction of Cornwall, we find at Compton, in Wiltshire (the home of the Penruddocks, another Cornish family), in the dining-room, work of similar character, but on a much larger scale. True, at Compton the applied carvings, although without the heavy massing of Gibbons, are still in his manner, whereas in this room from Clifford's Inn it is only the application of pierced and carved work of one wood on another which suggests Gibbons at all. One would like to believe that John Penhalow brought his craftsmen from the south-western counties of England to embellish his London chambers, but the evidence for this is meagre and cannot be relied upon.

We have illustrated the type of woodwork which was made for the chambers of a plain Cornish gentleman in Clifford's Inn between 1686 and 1688. Attention may be turned, for a brief space, to examine the same large-panelled style as made for a nobleman,—perhaps not a very wealthy one at that date,—in the case of the Earl of Devonshire at Chatsworth in Derbyshire. This can only be by way of a digression, as neither palatial woodwork nor furniture really illustrate the evolution of craft or design, being always exceptional in character, in a manner which places almost each example in a class by itself.

The history of the Cavendish family is interesting from many points of view, even if we begin as far back as the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench in 1366, 1373 and 1377, Sir John, who founded the line of which, at a later period, two branches were to attain dukedoms. William Cavendish, the fourth in descent, was gentleman-usher to Cardinal Wolsey, and remained faithful to him in his disgrace. He outlived the great

Cardinal, and at the dissolution of monasteries obtained large grants of abbey lands, upon which his third wife, the famous Bess of Hardwick, built many mansions, and to which the same lady added many broad acres.

Tradition has it, prophecy of the time foretold that Bess of Hardwick should never die as long as she continued building, and it is reported that her death actually took place during a snowstorm, when the masons could not work. It is obvious that in the reign of Henry VIII the subject of such a forecast had not to reckon with such trifles as trade disputes or strikes, otherwise, in modern parlance, the actuarial risk would

Fig. 383.
DETAIL OF THE ARCHITRAVE AND DOOR, FIG. 382.

have been greatly enhanced. True or false, prophecy or no prophecy, Bess of Hardwick left to succeeding Cavendishes the advantage,—or should it be the incubus,—of many houses. Chatsworth, Hardwick, Holker Hall, Lismore Castle, Compton Place at Eastbourne, and Devonshire House in Piccadilly, these were all Cavendish property at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

It was in 1686 that the Earl of Devonshire (afterwards the Duke) began the alterations to Chatsworth, with Talman, the architect of Dyrham, as his advisor. The Earl was in his forty-sixth year at this date. He brings workmen from town ; Henry Lobb and Robert Owen, the " London joyners " figure in the estate records for 1688, and Thomas Young and William Davis are the carvers. Legend has connected the name of Grinling Gibbons with Chatsworth, and he may have made models or even have carved a sample piece or two in the Great Chamber, Fig. 375, but the bulk of this fine carving, in soft lime tree, is the work of a Derbyshire man, Samuel Watson, who was engaged at Chatsworth from 1691 to 1715. Thomas Young and William Davis, before-mentioned, appear to have been contractors,—or " upholders," in the eighteenth-century phraseology, —as to them sums aggregating more than £1,000 are paid for the carvings in this Great Chamber, and over £2,000 for wainscottings, which include the panellings here. In 1692 William Davis appears, associated with Joel Lobb and Samuel Watson, contracting with the Earl of Devonshire for carvings in lime tree to cost £400.

The Earl could not have been a very wealthy man at this date, that is, on the scale which the possession of six great houses would demand. There was no Eastbourne to swell the Cavendish revenues, and London property had not acquired a tithe of the rental value which it afterwards did. Yet there is no severe economy evident, as far as the work at Chatsworth is concerned. The State Drawing-room, Fig. 376, is even on a more lavish scale than the Great Chamber, with its wonderful Mortlake tapestries on the walls, and its equally wonderful carvings over the mantel and the doors. Through the open door in Fig. 375, can be seen one of the door-cases of locally-quarried alabaster, and in Fig. 377 is shown one of these gorgeous doorways together with the forged iron balustrading of the stairs, the work of Tijou. Work on this scale of magnificence must have occupied many years. Talman is instructed, as we have seen, in 1686, but Samuel Watson, the carver, is still engaged at Chatsworth some twenty-nine years later, although probably working, at this date, on accessories which were in the nature of after-thoughts.

The large six- or eight-panelled doors, as seen in the State Drawing-room, with carved door-heads, were the mode at the close of the seventeenth century. From that house of many periods, Woodcote Park at Epsom—now the golf club-house of the Royal Auto-

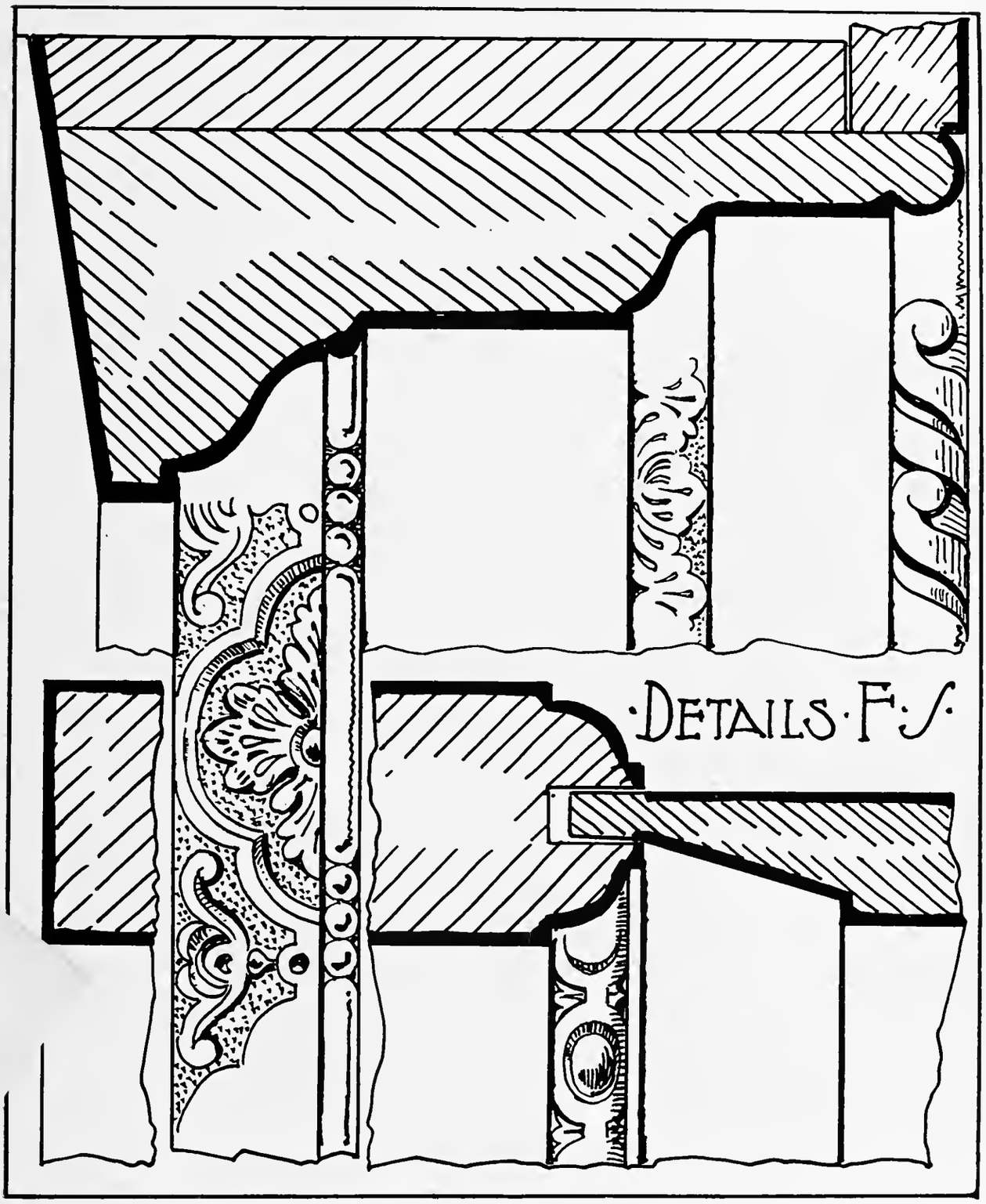


Fig. 384.

SECTIONS OF DOOR AND ARCHITRAVE, FIG. 382.

Actual size.

mobile Club—in an ante-room which was formerly the chapel, the door, shown here in Fig. 378, was taken. It is on a smaller scale than the doors at Chatsworth, only three-panelled, and double, with the large box-locks of the period, a copy from the French Louis Quatorze. In Fig. 379 is shown the mantel from the same room,—probably of somewhat later date, as much work was done at Woodcote from the late seventeenth to the middle eighteenth century,—with a framed panel above the opening, here empty, but formerly containing a picture, surrounded by festooned carvings in soft lime tree, somewhat weak in design.

The substitution of red deal for oak usually marks the beginning of the eighteenth century, the usual finish being either painting or graining. Occasionally we meet with an example of scumble-work at this period,—a glazing of amber-coloured varnish over a white or a stippled ground of yellow, the effect of which is charming, although some artistic deception in material is necessarily implied,—and, very occasionally, the woodwork is marbled. For important work oak was still used, often in conjunction with stucco composition, or even scagliola. Parcel-gilding of ornaments also becomes almost the rule during the reign of Anne.

From Whitley Beaumont, about six miles from Huddersfield, came the fine room shown in Fig. 380. Here we encroach on the classical manner of the first years of the eighteenth century. The wood is oak throughout, with the exception of the ornaments in the frieze, which are of pear tree, gilded. The columns,—which divide the apartment into room and ante-room,—are also of oak, very lightly constructed, in four vertical sections cooper-jointed on the shafts, with turned caps and bases, also hollowed out. The inspiration of the classical cornice, with its modillions entirely covered on the soffits with dentils placed closely together,—a very unusual detail,—and the frieze with triglyphs, is entirely architectural. Between these tablets of the frieze are heads of animals, birds and other devices, with Beaumont cyphers interlaced. The height of this room from floor to ceiling is 13 ft. 7 ins.

Another room, of somewhat later date, probably of the later years of George I, is shown in Fig. 381. Here the scheme is much more simple, and the room is low, 8 ft. 6 ins. to the top of the cornice, which was evidently the finish under the ceiling, unless a coving, in plaster, was used above,—which is doubtful with a cornice of this size. The section of this latter is also unusual, with large overhang to the corona, and carved dentils below, but the frieze is divided from the panelling by a small astragal bead instead of the large stepped frieze moulding which one would have expected at this date. The wood here is red deal, a timber which was very general in work of the

eighteenth century. The usual finish of this woodwork was paint, but this red deal was always of beautiful grain and quality, far superior to anything procurable at the present day. It was imported from the Baltic ports, Dantzic and Memel, but the source is now extinguished.

A very commendable fashion has obtained, of recent years, of stripping this fine deal,—which is generally of beautiful colour when the paint is removed, —graining the knots,—which are the only disfigurements,—to match the texture of the wood, and finishing with wax and friction. The fine door with its architrave, shown in Fig. 382, which is in its original situ, has been stripped in this manner, and the colour is now that of old pencil cedar. This door, apart from the fine quality of the carving, is

Fig. 385.

ALCOVE CUPBOARD IN RED DEAL.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

exceptional in many details. It is of the type which can be much more easily copied badly than accurately. One detail in proportions can be referred to here. The modern six-panelled door has the smallest panel at the top, the next in size at the bottom and the middle panel is taller than the other two. In this door the lower and middle panels are the same in height. This could not have been conditioned by the position of a surbase moulding, as this could have been fixed at any height from the floor in reason. The idea is that the eye gives an effect of downward perspective, so that the lower door panel really appears to be less in height than the middle one. This detail is not unusual in eighteenth-century doors, in fact it may be said to be rather the rule than the exception, and yet in reproduction work it is the one which is rarely noticed, with the result that, in copies, one gets the effect of a modern Swedish machine-made door. Another point to be noticed on the page of sections is the extraordinary thickness of the door panels. The flat of the panel on its fielded side is nearly level with the face of the door frame. The architrave, also, has an abnormal projection for the size of the door and the room, and this is still further accentuated by the bevelling of the architrave return. It is in two sections, the mouldings of the front half being worked on the solid instead of the facing of the front ogee, as one usually finds in mouldings of this size. The sections of this door and its architrave are shown in Fig. 384. The skirting and panel-moulding of the window reveals in the same room are carved in the same fine manner. The detail of the door carving can be seen, to a larger scale, in Fig. 383. The date of this work is about 1730–40.

To this period belongs the fine china alcove or niche which was made to display the decorative porcelains of the middle eighteenth century, illustrated here in Fig. 385. This comes from the South-west of England, but there is no longer the local distinctions of type which existed, formerly. The paint has been removed from this alcove cupboard, and the fine red deal has now the colour of faded pencil cedar or pear tree, the result of the action of lead and oil in the paint, and the exclusion of light for many years. The shell above is finely carved, in high-relief scrolling with the arms of Hicks on the cartouche, originally all painted in polychrome and gold, with very rich effect. The ends of the shelves finish with carved spandrels in similar fashion to the returns of treads in the staircases of the same date (see Fig. 254). Simple in general effect, yet with a quiet charm in proportion, detail, colour and play of light and shade, with this china niche the progression of English woodwork must be concluded, as far as the scope of this book is concerned, leaving the subsequent development of panellings and interior joinery to be traced further, during the remainder of the eighteenth century, in a later work.

Chapter X.

Bedsteads and their Development.

THE last will and testament of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, builder of Windsor Castle and part of Winchester Cathedral, founder of New College at Oxford, high prelate and the wisest counsellor which Edward the Third ever had, is dated 1403, one year before his death. He leaves money to the poor in the prisons of London, Winchester, Wolvesy, Oxford, Guildford and Old and New Sarum, to the amount of two hundred pounds. To the church of Winchester he bequeaths his new rich vestment of blue cloth embroidered with gold, and thirty capes of the same, with gold fringes, a pyx of beryl for the host, and a cross of gold with relics of the true cross. To New College he leaves his mitre, crozier, dalmatics and sandals. To his college at Winchester another mitre, his Bible and several books from his library.

To Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, he demises his large silk bed and furniture in his palace at Winchester, with the whole suite of tapestry hangings from the same place.

One could have wished a more ample and detailed reference to the bed of an important prelate, dating from the late fourteenth century, and bequeathed in the first years of

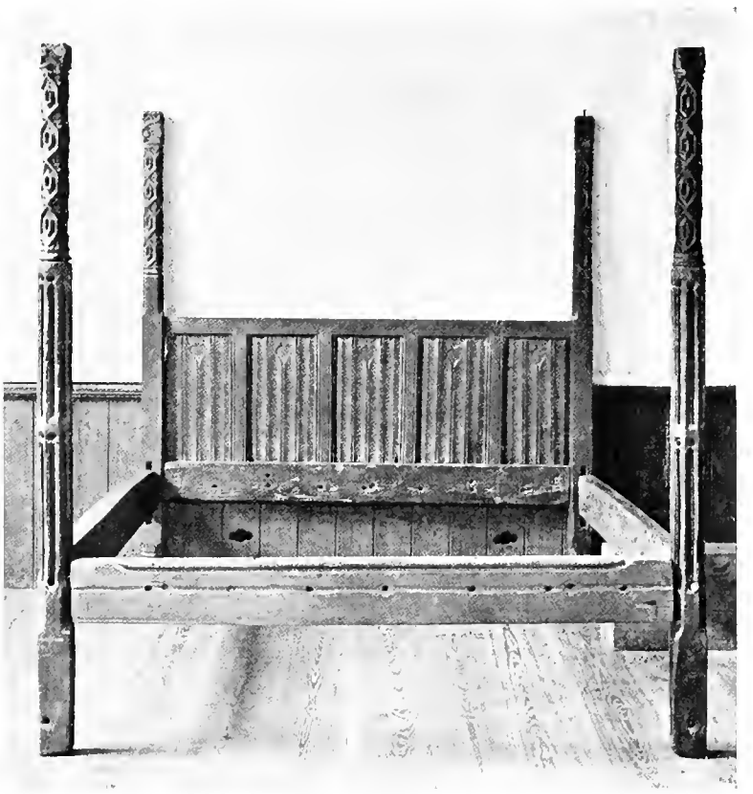


Fig. 386.

OAK BEDSTEAD (TESTER MISSING).

5 ft. 4½ ins. wide. Length 6 ft. 2 ins. (between posts).
Present height 5 ft. 10 ins. Posts 3¾ ins. square.
Early sixteenth century.
Saffron Walden Museum.

Fig. 387.
OAK BEDPOSTS.

5 ft. 4½ ins. to 5 ft. 7 ins. high; 2¾ ins. thick.
Early sixteenth century.

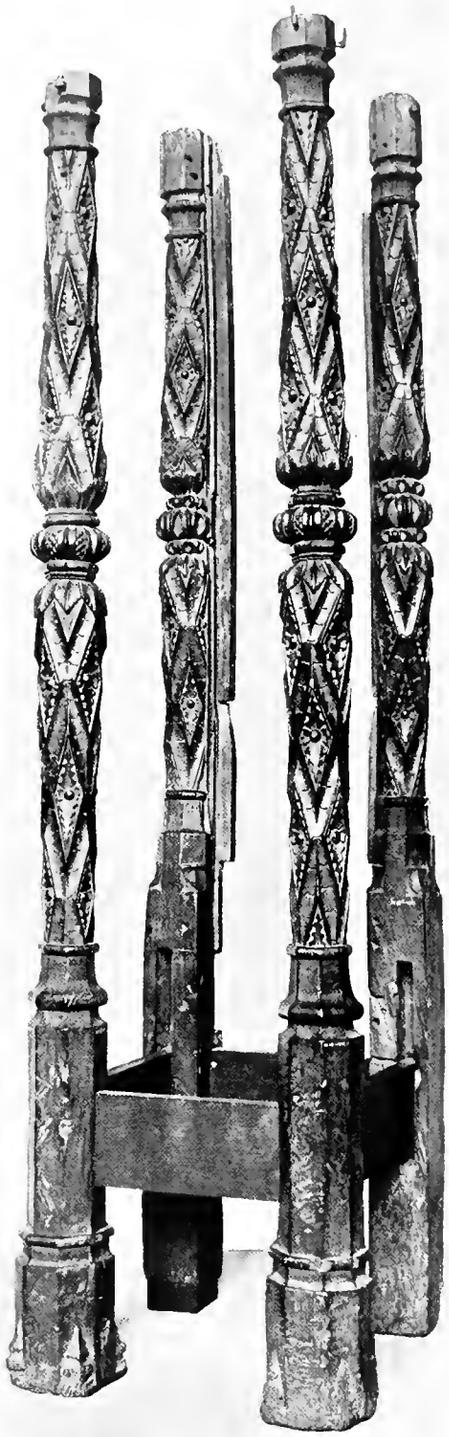


Fig. 388.
OAK BEDPOSTS.

6 ft. 5 ins. high; 4 ins. thick.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

the fifteenth. The term "silk bed" obviously refers to the hangings, but whether the bedstead was of the four-post type, or merely a pallet standing in a curtained recess, we have no means of knowing. Magnificent as many of the high Church dignitaries were in their mode of life, very little real comfort, in the modern sense, was known before the sixteenth century. The magnificence was barbaric; the eye was dazzled, but the body was little comforted. We know, also, especially in secular houses, from the fortified castle down to the superior yeoman's house, that the bedchamber had only a secondary importance. The life of the family was in the Great Hall, and the private apartments, including the bedrooms, were rudely

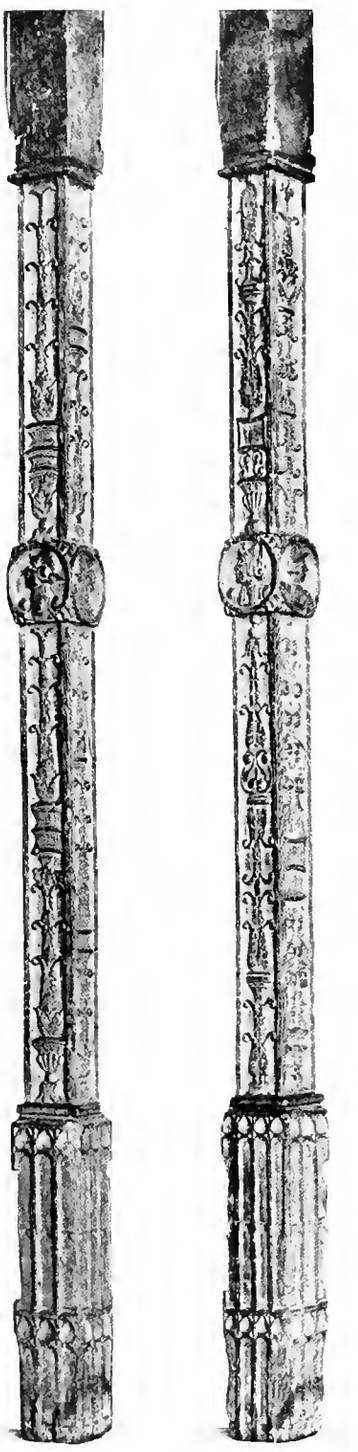


Fig. 389.

6 ft. high.

Fig. 390.

OAK BEDPOSTS.

6 ft. 2½ ins. high (complete) by 3½ ins. thick.
Early sixteenth century.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 391.
OAK BEDSTEAD.
(Restored).

Height 5 ft. 10 ins. Length 6 ft. 6 ins. Width 4 ft. 9 ins.
Early sixteenth century. W. Smedley Aston, Esq.

and sparsely furnished, with little or no pretence to real comfort. Walls only begin to be clothed with panellings of wood,—the first attempt at relieving the nakedness of stone walls or partitions of wood and plaster,—during the latter part of the fifteenth century. A rich and powerful prelate would have his walls hung with tapestries

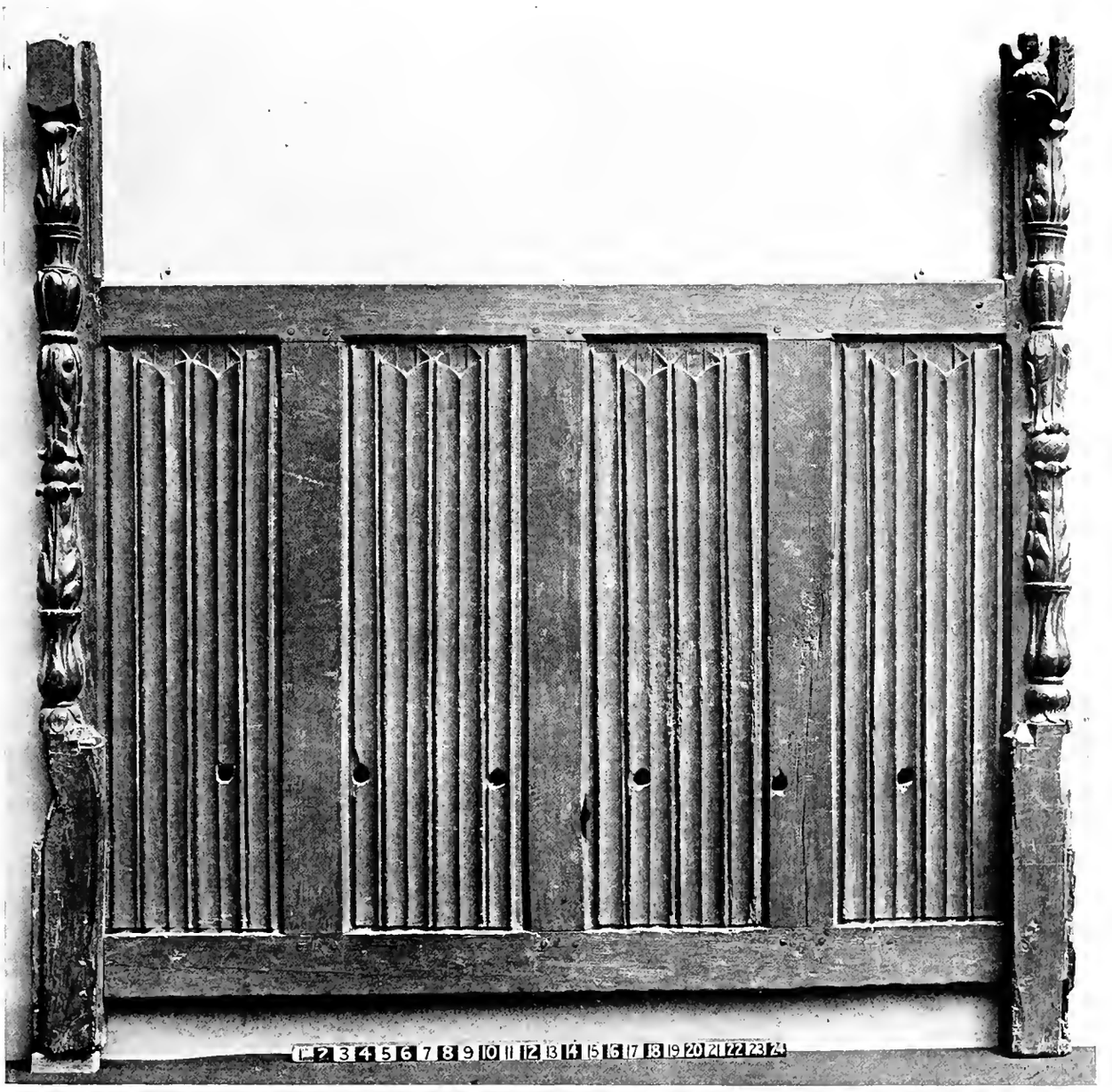


Fig. 392.

HEAD-BOARD OF OAK BEDSTEAD.

4 ft. 2½ ins. wide by 4 ft. 1½ ins. high.
Date about 1545–50.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 393.

OAK BEDSTEAD, MIDLAND TYPE.

Height 6 ft. 3 ins. Width 4 ft. 6 ins. Length 6 ft.
Mid-seventeenth century.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

even at a considerably earlier period than this, but in the ordinary houses, even of the moderately wealthy, where painted hangings were not used in imitation of the lordly tapestry, the walls were either left bare or decorated with crude paintings on wood studs or plaster filling, or on both.

In turbulent times, the men-folk slept in their clothes, and where they could. We know that retainers in large houses far outnumbered the bedroom accommodation. A shakedown of straw or rushes was probably the usual bed, or, as an alternative, the softest place which could be found on a floor-board.

To illustrate early bedsteads,—and this is only possible in fragmentary form,—we are compelled to show examples which are, in the mere fact that they are bedsteads at all, palatial pieces. Of these, as a rule, nothing has survived beyond the posts, and in rare instances, the head boards. The fragment from Saffron Walden Museum, Fig. 386, is all that remains of what must have been an important bedstead in the early sixteenth century. That it is not later than the first years of Henry VIII is shown by the patterns of the posts, especially of the upper portions, which resemble the carved brick chimneys of this date. The panelled head-board has the early form of moulded panel (not a linenfold), a similar example of which we have already seen in the Lavenham porch, Fig. 267. In the Victoria and Albert Museum are several examples of these early bedposts, shown here in Figs. 387 to 390, all with more or less suggestion of the Renaissance superimposed on the Gothic. The three in Fig. 387 are almost free from this influence, and are, probably, the earliest in date. The central one is particularly charming, with its simple chip-carved ornament. The same feeling is found in many of the early chests, which will be illustrated in the next volume. Fig. 388 shows the complete four posts of a bed with the remains of the head framing on the two at the back. These are the half-posts to which the head-

Fig. 394.
OAK BEDSTEAD.
Dated 1593.

Fig. 395.

OAK BEDSTEAD.

Height 8 ft. 7½ ins. Width 5 ft. 8 ins. Length 7 ft. 10 ins.
Early seventeenth century.

Fig. 396.

OAK BEDSTEAD.

Late sixteenth century. Great Fulford, Devon.

Fig. 397.

OAK BEDSTEAD.

Date about 1630–40

Astley Hall, Chorley, Lancs.

framing was fixed. The Gothic pinnacled buttress-finish at the floor-ends of those on the front is in the manner one would expect at this date, but is rare in bed-posts. Fig. 389 is a pair, of square section, the shafts with pronounced Renaissance ornament on bases traceried in the late Gothic manner. Fig. 390 are probably French, the one on the right having the insignia of the Medici family, the one in the centre the fleur-de-lys. The ornament, also, is executed in the manner of Touraine rather than of England. A comparison between the diamond-treatment of the shaft of the post on the right with those on either side in Fig. 387, will show this difference, although some allowance must be made for the defaced state of the former.

Fig. 391 shows one of these bedsteads erected, but the tester and cornice are missing, and the panelling which acts here as a head-board is not original and is also later in date. The rails of these bedsteads were laced with ropes threaded through holes, and on this rope mesh the bedding was placed. In Fig. 392, which dates from about the middle

Fig. 398.
WALNUT BEDSTEAD.
Date about 1670.

Fig. 399.

STATE BEDSTEAD.

Height 14 ft. 4 ins. Width 6 ft. to 7 ft.

Late seventeenth century. The Duke of Buccleuch.

of the sixteenth century, these rope-holes have been pierced right through the vertically-moulded panels of the head. This fragment, the applied balusters of which are distinctly Renaissance in character, in spite of their crudity, probably formed a part of a bedstead of open form, without cornice or tester. There is some reason to suppose that bedsteads of this kind were made to stand in a draped alcove, and it is probably one of this description which is referred to in William of Wykeham's testament.

It is late in the sixteenth century before bedsteads become really important pieces of furniture. Sir Toby Belch, in "*Twelfth Night*," says, ". . . and as many lies as will lie in thy sheet of paper, although the sheet were big enough for

Fig. 400.

STATE BEDSTEAD.

Late seventeenth century.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

the bed of Ware, set 'em down," so this famous bed must have been well known in Shakespeare's day. But "*Twelfth Night*" was not written until about 1601, and it was first acted on the Christmas of that year in the same Hall of the Middle Temple which has been illustrated in this book in Fig. 82. Large and ornate bedsteads must have been well-known in Shakespeare's day, but the fact that they call for remark shows that they could only have been exceptional pieces.

The seventeenth-century bedstead of the middle classes was a much more simple affair. Fig. 393 may be taken as illustrating the type, one which persisted, in country districts, even until the close of the eighteenth century. Both head and foot-ends are completely panelled in up to the tester. This latter was sometimes framed to correspond, but, more often merely boarded in. The open sides were usually closed with curtains, and this dread of fresh air lasted for many years with English country-folk, even until the latter years of the nineteenth century.

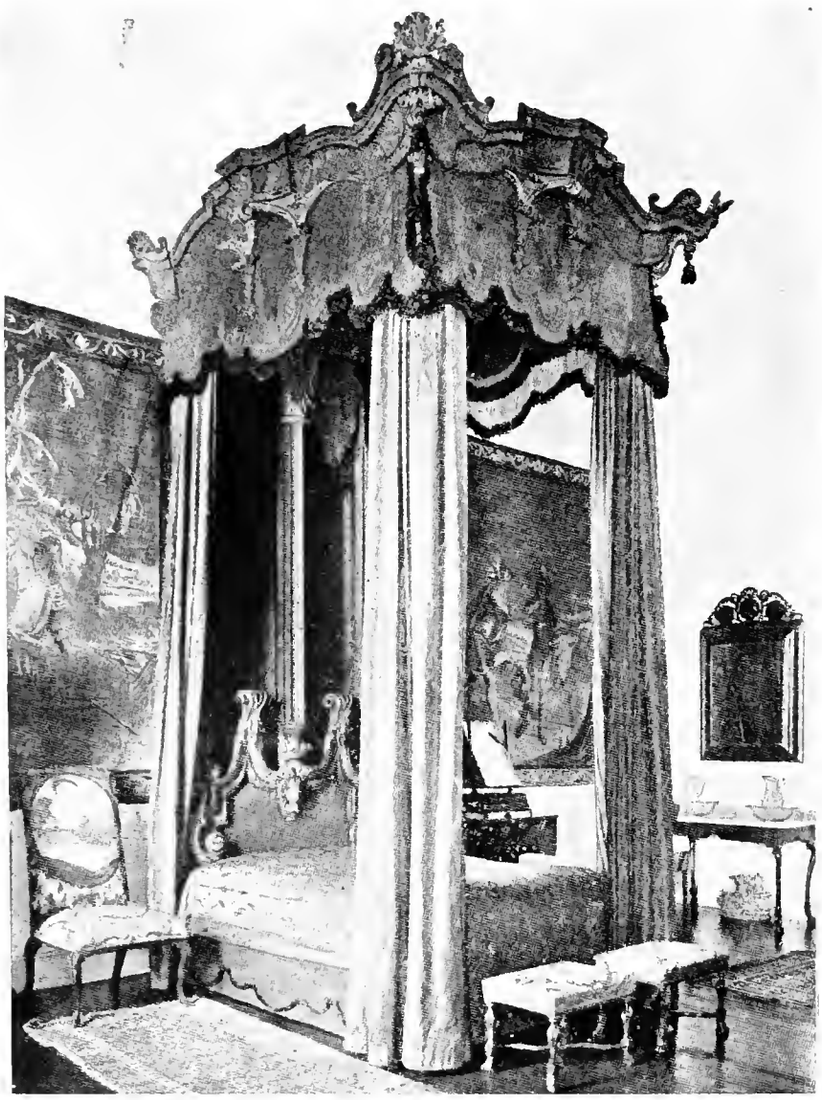


Fig. 401.
STATE BEDSTEAD.
Late seventeenth century. The Earl of Chesterfield.

It may be an indication of date, but is, more probably, merely an alternative fashion, where the front posts are distinct from the pallet and side-rails of the bed itself. An absence of foot-board, as in Fig. 394, may be taken as an in-

dication of the sixteenth century, although both Yorkshire and Lancashire held to this fashion for many years. Similarly, bedsteads with the bulbous posts supported on box bases, either with shaped brackets, as in Fig. 395, or on a stage of four columns, as in Fig. 397, are early in the seventeenth century, as a rule, and often show marked traces of either French or Flemish workmanship. It is not improbable that England owes this importance of the bedstead to Flanders or France, especially to the former. The front of the tester cornice of Fig. 395 is carved with the arms of the Courtenays of Devon, and the South-west, as we have seen, led the way in ornate woodwork until almost the close of the sixteenth century. Fig. 396 is from the same county, a fine oak bedstead at Great Fulford, usually described as the second Sir John Fulford's bed, but, as he died in 1580, it must date from the closing years of his life,—and may be even later. Here the pallet is disconnected from the front posts, and is without the foot-board of the Courtenay bedstead. The carving has the rich Devonshire character noticeable in much of the Church woodwork of that part of fifty years before, such as in the screens at Lapford and Swimbridge not far away. The cornice to this bedstead is disproportionately light, and there is a square carved necking above the post capitals which one would hardly expect to find, but these ornate bedsteads, apart from the fact that they often suffered from ignorant restorations, sometimes incorporated portions of carved woodwork from despoiled churches, and the one close to Great Fulford had been visited by Cromwell's commissioners in 1547, with the result that much havoc was wrought among the fine carvings which Thomas Brideaux had put in only thirty-seven years before.

From Devonshire to Lancashire is a far remove, but similar traditions will be found at Astley Hall, Fig. 397, as in the Great Fulford bedstead. There are the same carved bulbs to the posts, and the mattress-framing fixed only by the tenons into the head-board. There is one striking difference, in the elaborate use made of mitred mouldings : there are eighty-six mitres in the cornice alone, and many others in the bases to the front posts. There is also the carved and panelled foot-board making a complete open bedstead if the arcaded stage of the back were cut away and posts and tester removed. Astley Hall is as remarkable for its rich woodwork and furniture as for the fact that most of it is original to the house it is in. In the next volume will be illustrated a remarkable shuffle-board table from the same house, an almost solitary survival of a game which must have been very popular in the seventeenth century, as it is frequently referred to in documents and books of the time.

With the marriage of Catherine of Braganza, bedsteads from Portugal, or copies

made from them in this country, although rare, are not unknown after the Restoration. Fig. 398 is an example where the lathe, either in turning or spiralling, is used almost exclusively. This is the form and type from which the later four-post beds of the eighteenth century were, in all probability, derived. This bedstead resembles the low-back chairs, generally made from ebony or lignum, which are sometimes met with, and which are usually styled Portuguese, although many were probably imported from Goa.

Of the late seventeenth-century state bedstead, with moulded cornice to the canopy and all woodwork covered with silk or similar fabric, it is impossible to illustrate a range of examples, as, although there is a general resemblance between them, it is merely superficial, every one differing materially from its fellow. Thus at Boughton, Fig. 399, the cornice is straight, ornamented with plumes at the corners, with valance and curtains of silk of floral pattern intersewn with gold threads. In Fig. 400 the cornice is moulded and mitred in breaks and arches, the woodwork covered with a material of the time known as morine, enriched with applique-work. This elaboration of the state bed reaches its limit at Holme Lacey, Fig. 401, both in height and intricacy of covered mouldings. The tester only of this bedstead has its original covering. The curtains are modern, reproduced from the old fabric by Messrs. Morant some years ago. Bedsteads of this kind must have been general in the great houses of the seventeenth century, although many have been dismantled as cumbrous and unhygienic. One elaborate bed-head, moulded and still covered with its original lemon-coloured silk, now in tatters, is stowed away, with other derelict furniture, in the Long Gallery at Lyme Park, and many of these ornate state beds must have met with a similar fate at the hands of recent owners more concerned with matters of health and cleanliness than with pomp and display.

INDEX

Abbeys—
and convents, *see* Church
dens of gluttony and vice in fifteenth century, 9
number and power at the Reformation, 108
Adze, the primitive plane, 29
Aldington Church, Kent, 170
All Saints, Hereford, 143
Alston Court, Nayland, Suffolk, 194
Great Hall at, 194
Altar—
afterwards of stone, 119
early ; richly decorated, 119
edict regarding, 119
importance of the, 119
of wood in early ages, 119
replaced by plain wooden tables, 119
sometimes placed on rood-loft, 119
subsidiary, 119
Anne of Brittany, *see* Brittany, Anne of
Apethorpe, 1500, 32
Appledore Church, Kent, screen at, 135, 140
Apprentices, could not be taken without sanction of Trade Guild, 4
Architects of early Churches—
frequently craftsmen also, 1
nearly always Churchmen, 9
Architecture, almost wholly secular under Henry VII, 32, 33
Architecture and woodwork not specialised in fifteenth century, 1
Artisans—
change of location, without sanction, punished, 4, 11, 20, 21
few holidays in life of early, 21
life of early, usually crude, but want unknown, 3
steady deterioration in status of, from sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, 3, 10, 11, 12
stringent laws regulating work of, 3, 11, 19, 20
Ashbocking, font cover at, 171
Astley Hall, bedstead at, 369
Aston Hall, 33, 216, 251
Atherington Church, 16, 140, 142, 164, 165, 166, 167, 174, 180

Bablake Schools, Coventry, 34, 293, 304
Baines, Sir Frank, 84
Barend Expedition, tools from, 31, 32
Barking, Suffolk, screen at, 147, 206
Barre, de la, 330
Bay windows, 189, 193, 194
Beachampton Farm, staircase at, 205
Bealings, Great, *see* Great Bealings
Beams, cambered, *see* Roof
Beckingham, Stephen (*see also* Tolleshunt Major), 264
Beddington Manor House, lock at, 340
Bedrooms, dread of fresh air in early, 368
Bedsteads—
development of, 355, 357, 359, 361, 365, 366, 368, 369, 370
early, made to stand in draped alcoves, 357, 366
early, only palatial pieces, 361
early, resemblance of posts to brick chimneys of the same period, 361
of fifteenth century unknown, 357
Portuguese type, imported, 369, 370
rails of, laced with ropes to support mattress, 365
seventeenth century, yeoman type, 368
Bedstead—
at Astley Hall, 369
at Boughton, 370
at Great Fulford, 369
at Holme Lacey, 370
" Beetle," a wooden club used in riving timber, 29
Bergholt, East, *see* East Bergholt
Beverley Minster, 31
Bewfield, Katherine, 1504, 125
Bewfield, Alderman, Thomas, will of, 172
Billesley, church at, 337

Billesley Manor, 315, 334, 336, 337
  steel locks at, 338, 340, 341
Billesley village swept away by plague, 338
Billesley, Whalley family at, 337
Blackett, arms of, 261
Bloomfield's "*History of Norfolk*," quoted, 172
Bodenham, arms of, 297, 330
Bodenham, Count Lubienski, 334
Bodenham, Roger, 330
Bodiam Castle, 15
Boothby Pagnell, 211
Borenius, Dr. Tancred, 122
Bovey Tracey, 165, 166, 172
Boxford Church—
  door at, 206, 247
  fourteenth-century porch at, 195, 197
Bradninch, screen at, 145, 166
Braganza, Catherine of, marriage of, 369
Bramfield, 31, 126, 180
Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter, 278
Braybrooke, Robert, Bishop of London, 232, 355
Breccles Hall, 212
Brent Eleigh Church, 200
Bridgman, Sir Orlando, 293, 304
Brightleigh, N. Devon, screen from Great Hall at, 241
Brittany, Anne of, 270
Bromley-by-Bow, palace of, panellings from, 313, 315, 316, 317
Brookland Church, Kent, 58, 59, 170
Brushford, Somerset, screen at, 167
Buckden (1484), 32
Burford, Oxon, 125
Burgundy, Philip the Hardy, Prince of, 122
"*Burlington Magazine*," quoted, 308, 309, 310, 311
Burnet, Bishop, quoted, 131, 132
Burton Agnes, 33
Burton, William, room from house of, 305

Cabriole leg, 7
Cartmel Priory, Lancs., choir stalls at, 175
Carving, finished by the gilder, 105
Casements, opening, rare in early houses, 3
Cattle and sheep, small size of, in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 18
Cavendish family, rise of, 348
Ceilings—
  introduced into houses, 54, 200, 202
  waggon, 92, 94
Cescinsky, Herbert, 73
Chairmaker, craft of, especially favoured in development, 7, 8
Chairs, rarity of early, 2, 38, 39
Chalfield, Great, *see* Great Chalfield
Chancel Screens—
  not so lofty in South-west, 164
  the arch-headed type of the West, 165
Chancels, screened off from nave, older than the nave as a rule, 119
Charlton, 216
Charterhouse, 212
Chatsworth—
  Mortlake tapestries at, 350
  woodwork at, 350
  woodwork at, cost of, 350
Chelsworth Church, door at, 206
Chequers Court, 212
Chester, stall canopies at, 136, 168
Chestnut, erroneously stated to have been used for the roof of Westminster Hall, 98
Chests, importance of, in early households, 7
Chilham, 212
Chimney-beams—
  copied from stone mantels, 290, 291
  from Lavenham, 282
  from Parnham Park, 289
  from Paycockes, Coggeshall, 282
  from Stoke-by-Nayland, 282
  usual in timber houses, 281, 282, 283
Chimney-breasts, use of plaster panels on, 291, 293
Chimney-pieces, acquire size and dignity at end of sixteenth century, 280
Choristers in Cathedrals, 271, 277
Chudleigh, screen at, 145, 166
Chulmleigh, screen at, 165, 166
Church Farm, Clare, Suffolk, door from, 200
Church—
  art of the, 15, 180
  beautifying of the early, 109
  carousing in the, 108
  chancel older than the nave, as a rule, 119
  chancel screened off from nave, 195
  chancel screens, construction of, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 151, 154

Church—
chancel screens, massive character of early, 135
chancel screens, massive character of Western, 164
chancel screens, not so lofty in South-west, 164
chancel screens, the arch-headed type of the West, 165
craftsmen of the, 4
dual ownership of nave and chancel in the, 78, 79, 105
early, consist merely of shrines or sanctuaries, 105
early, led the way in luxurious furnishings, 231, 232, 357, 359
facilities for interchange of ideas in the, 5
in fifteenth century, a riot of colour, 105
influence of, in furniture and woodwork prior to 1520, 16, 108
lack of warming in early, 280
luxury of, 4
naves of, the meeting halls of the parish, 105
popularity of tapestry in houses of the, 232, 359, 360
rood-screens, *see under* Rood-lofts and Screens
time of little moment in early, 4, 12
wealth and power of, in fifteenth century, 9, 12, 13
workmen and artists employed by the, 21
Classes, wealthy, importance of, in fostering styles, 5, 6
Cleanliness, lack of, in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 19
Clifford's Inn—
panelled room from, 346, 347, 348
panelled room, probably influenced from Cornwall, 347
"Clinker-boarding" of early wainscotting, 209, 243, 244
Clocks—
long-case, 5
mutilation of, 51
"*Cloister and the Hearth*" quoted, 111, 115
Cobbold, Mr. John D., 269, 342
Cockington, pulpit at, 172, 174
Coggeshall Abbey, 283
Abbots of, 283
Coinage—
debasing of, effects of, on East Anglian trade with Netherlands, 23
debasing of, under Henry VIII, 11, 22, 23
Colchester Museum, 234, 235
Coldridge Church, 165, 167
Colour Decoration—
associated with construction of woodwork, 137
at Bramfield, 160, 162, 163
at Ludham, 164
at Ludham and Bramfield, 148
at Ranworth, 151, 154, 155, 156
at St. Michael-at-Plea, 124, 125
at Southwold, 163
at Southwold and Yaxley, 149, 157, 158, 159, 160
at Ufford, 169, 170, 171
at Yaxley, 162, 163
delight in, during fifteenth century, 104
difference between work of eastern and western counties, 147, 165, 166
highest limit reached in chancel screens, 125
in churches, 135, 180
in early chancel screens, 135, 169
in Gothic woodwork, 103, 104, 105, 109, 110
in pulpits, 173, 174
in Wolsey's closet at Hampton Court, 104
in woodwork at Rotherwas, 104
luminers of Gothic, 115, 116, 180
mediums used in, 111, 118
nearly all Gothic church woodwork originally coloured, 103, 104, 105
Norwich Cathedral, 120, 121, 122, 124
preparation on wood for, described, 110
principal notes in colour at Ludham and Bramfield, 148
proper, in heraldry, 118
tempera mediums on, 119
Compton Place, Eastbourne, 350
Compton, Wiltshire, home of the Penruddocks, 348
Compton Wynyates (1520), 32
Construction—
advancement of, in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 136
of chancel screens, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 151, 154
of pulpits, 172
Copying, importance of later, considered, 6

Corner-posts, 10, 102, 103
Corridors, not known in early Tudor houses, 34
Cothelstone Manor (1508), 33
Courtenays of Devon, bedstead with arms of, 360
Coventry Cathedral, *see* St. Michael's Church, Coventry
Coventry, St. Mary's Hall, 41
Craftsmen, subdivisions of, in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 19, 20
Cromwell, Lord Treasurer, 15, 290
Cromwell's commissioners in Devon, 360
Crosby Hall, 72, 73
Crowe, William, room from house of, 306, 344
Culbone, Somerset, screen at, 140
Cunningham, Alan, quoted, 13, 15
Curzon, Earl, of Kedleston, 15

Dating of examples—
  difficulties in and systems of, 5, 6
  importance of fashions in the, 5, 6
Davis, William, at Chatsworth, 350
Deal, red—
  alcove niche in, 354
  imported from Baltic ports, 353
  replaces oak in eighteenth century for panellings, 352, 353
Debasement of currency, *see* Coinage
Dedham Church, door at, 206
Deene Park (1540), 33
Denny, Sir Anthony, in possession of Waltham Abbey, 262, 263
Despencer, Henry, Bishop of Norwich, 121
Destruction of Church woodwork—
  at Reformation, 31
  at the Commonwealth, 31, 151, 157, 160, 162, 360
Development of furniture and woodwork, systems of considering explained, 8
Devonshire, Earl of, 348, 349, 350
Devonshire House, 350
Devonshire, panellings and pilasters considered, 299
Diet, lack of variety in fifteenth century, 3
Doddington Hall (1595), 33
Doles from wealthy houses, custom of soliciting, 27
Doors, 189, 192, 194, 200, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210
  in early secular houses usually low, 52
Doors, differ little in churches or houses, 202
  construction of, 202, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210
  in early timber houses, 202
  modern versus old proportions in, 354
  springing of heads, variations in, 202
  towards sixteenth century constructed in similar fashion to panellings, 205
  with wicket, generally late, 205
Dowsing, William, Journal of, 131, 132, 160, 162
Dragon-beam in houses of double-story overhang, 42, 202
Durham Castle, Anthony Bec's hall at, 55

Earl Stonham Church, 64, 82, 83, 206
Early Churches, *see* Church
East Bergholt, doors at, 208
East Down, church of, font pedestal at, 175
Edward VI—
  acts of oppression of, 16
  edicts of, regarding use of altars, 132
Edwardstone Church, 74
Eldred, Thomas, a navigator, 342, 343
Elizabeth, reign of, culture in, 4
Elmsett Church, door at, 202
Eltham Palace, roof at, 55, 62, 83, 84, 85, 86
Emblazonry, law of, 116
England in fifteenth century—
  an agglomeration of districts, 5
  disturbed state of, 5
English people, social life of, under the Tudors, 105
  life in fifteenth century not so hard as under the Tudors, 105
Eucharistic sacrifice, 119
Exeter—
  Law Library roof at, 81, 91, 92
  panellings from, 300, 301, 302, 304
Exeter, The Vicars' Hall—
  alterations in, 279
  early stone chimney-piece in, 279
  panelling in, 271, 277, 278, 279
  Stuart panelling in, 279
Eyck, Van, *see* Van Eyck

Falstaff, Sir John, 233, 234, 270
Famines, unknown in England in fifteenth century, 108

Fashions, importance of—
in dating examples, 5, 6
in development of styles, 211
Fenn, A. M., Mr., 194
Fenner's House, *see also* Yarmouth, 344
Fireplaces, early, huge size of, 3, 39
Firred-beam Roofs, *see* Roofs
Fletcher of Saltoun, 11
Floors, either left bare or strewn with rushes until end of seventeenth century, as a rule, 2
Font covers, importance of, 169, 170, 171, 172
Fonts, usually stone but sometimes of lead, 170
Food—
often included in terms of hiring by King or Church, 3
plentiful and cheap in fifteenth century, 3
Forde Abbey, 222, 223
Ford's Hospital, Coventry, 42, 43
Fox, Bishop, 136
Framlingham Castle, 206
Framlingham Church, 79
Fret, popularity of, 319
Fulford, Great, *see* Great Fulford
Fulford, Sir John, bedstead of, at Gt. Fulford, 369
Fuller, Robert, Abbot of Waltham, 258, 261
Furniture—
early, arbitrary use of the term, 1
early, not only primitive in character, but also limited in amount and variety, 2, 6, 16
foreign, sparingly imported into England, 2
importance of clerical establishments in development of, 2
importance of fashions in, 211
narrow line of demarcation between woodwork and, 1
reasons for rapid development of style in, 4
subdivisions of types of, 7

Gable, in roof construction, 55
Gainsburgh, Great Hall, 90, 197
Garner and Stratton, quoted, 43, 44, 45, 46
Gernon, Sir Nicholas, 121
Gesso-work, 105, 110, 120, 148, 149, 158, 159, 160, 163, 180
Gibbons, Grinling, 350
Gibbs, William, 218
Gifford, arms of, 241
Glass—
crown, method of making described, 2
prohibitive cost of, in sixteenth century, 2
Glue, sparingly used by the early woodworker, 31
Godfrey, Walter H., Mr., 72, 73
Godmeston, John, appointed Clerk of Works at Westminster Hall, 96
Gold, superior decorative qualities of, compared with silver, 103
Golden age of English woodwork in fifteenth century, 11, 108
Gothic—
begins to be merged into the classical in sixteenth century, 5
debasement of, 137, 167, 168
false idea of material in late, 168
necessarily an ecclesiastical style, 16
the national style until end of fifteenth century, 1
woodwork and colour decoration, *see* Colour Decoration
woodwork, evidences of skill in and love for, 108, 109
Great Bealings Church, Suffolk, 208
Great Chalfield, 212
Great Fulford—
bedstead at, 369
panellings at, 253, 254, 255
Great Hall, 7
divides houses into two sections, 212
dwindles in size and importance in sixteenth century, 34, 54
festivals in, 40
often found in small yeomen's houses, 34, 197, 200
paucity of furniture in, 233
screens in, 240, 241
the principal living room of the family, 33, 197
usual furniture of, 37, 38, 39
Great Mortality, The (1528–1529), 19
Grey Friars, Coventry, *see* Ford's Hospital
Grundisburgh, 142
Guilds—
antiquity of, 17
character of, 17, 21, 108, 193
halls, importance of, 41
power of, in fifteenth century, 4

Haddeleye, the King's castle of, 19
Hadleigh Church, 206
Hadleigh, Essex, house at, 3, 51, 52
Halberton, 165, 166, 172
Hale, Sir Stephen, 121
Hales Place, Tenterden, Kent, 212
Half-timber house, *see* House, timber-framed
Hall, Great, *see* Great Hall
Ham House, panellings at, 346
Hamburg, mortality in, from plague, *see also* Plagues, 19
Hampton Court, 55
Hardwick, Bess of, 349
Hardwick Hall, 350
Harmondsworth Barn, 63, 67, 86
Hatfield House, 33
Haughley Church, 73
Hebbys, John, will of, 134
Hemsted, staircases at, 216
Hengrave Hall (1538), 32
Henley-in-Arden, St. John's Church, 74
Henry VIII—
  acts of oppression of, 9
  debases the coinage, 11, 22, 23, 125
  debases the coinage, effects on East Anglian trade, 23
  divorces Catherine of Aragon (1533), 262
  extravagance of, 10, 15
  sale of monastic property by, 268
  use of royal arms of, 264, 265, 268
Herland, Hugh, 91
  entrusted with the renewal of the roof of Westminster Hall, 96, 98
  the King's Master Carpenter, 96
Herland, William de, the King's Master Carpenter, 19
Holbeton, 167, 174
Holidays, absence of, in the life of fifteenth-century craftsman, 21
Holker Hall, 350
Holywells, Ipswich, 269, 301, 342, 343
Horwood Church, 72
Houghton, "*Collections on Husbandry and Trade*," 17, 18
Hours of labour in summer and winter in fifteenth century, 21, 22
House, timber-framed —
  a complete unit without plaster or brickwork, 187
House, timber-framed—
  conscientious character of early, 180
  elaborate ceilings in, 200
  elaboration of carving in, 41, 42
  low rooms in, 52
  peculiar to England, 41, 176, 177
  richness of, in East Anglia, 177
  variations in, due to local tree-growth, 188
House-building, era of, sets in, in middle sixteenth century, 16
House-plan—
  early, a factor in development of furniture and woodwork, 1, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45
  evolution in direction of greater privacy for the family, 33
Houses—
  early, standard of comfort very meagre in, 2
  paucity of furniture in early, 4
Howard, Sir John, 121

Influence of Renaissance on architecture and furniture, 4
Italy, Grand tour to, a part of aristocratic education in the sixteenth century, 1
Ivychurch, Kent, chancel screen at, 135

Jernsalem, arms of Kingdom of, 116
Joiners—
  follow traditions of the masons, 54, 136, 166
  methods of, and masons compared, 54
Joists, 55
Jones, Inigo, 218
"Journeyman," early significance of the term, 4

Keele Hall (1571), 33
Kent, William, 218
Kenton, pulpit at, 174
Kerdiston, Sir William, 121
Kersey Church, 206
Key Church, Ipswich, 206
King's craftsmen, 20
Kirby (1570), 33
Kirkstead, Abbey of, 15

Labourers—
Statute of, 23, 24
steady deterioration in status of, 11
Lake House (1575), 33
Lanhydroc, Cornwall, 323
Lapford Church, 72, 165
Lavenham—
a weaving centre in the fifteenth century, 193
chimney-beam from, 282
Guild Hall at, 41, 42, 193, 202
Guild Hall, wainscotting in, 243, 244
large trade of, with Flanders, 41
old house at, 73, 190, 192, 200, 208
old shop windows at, 192
Woolhall at, 189, 190, 192, 202
Lavenham Church, 71, 72
chancel screen at, 140, 142, 143
Oxford Pew at, 167, 168
Spring Pew at, 72, 167, 168
Laws, harsh and strict in fifteenth century, 108
Layer Marney Towers (1501), 32
Lee, Sir Robert, 334, 336
Lee, family of, 338
Legh, Sir Piers, builds Lyme Park, 294, 296
Leoni, G., 218
rebuilds Lyme Park, 294
Levens Hall, Westmoreland, 323
Lewes Town Hall, staircase in, 216
Leycester of De Tabley, arms of, 116, 118
Lime Street, mantels, etc., from, 301, 302, 320, 321
Linenfold—
common origin of, and parchemin panel (q.v.), 249
description of, 245
inaccurate use of the term, 243
in bedsteads, 366
in panels, origin of, 241, 242
occurs in conjunction with Renaissance ornament, 249
reasons for development of, 242, 243, 245, 247
Lismore Castle, 350
Little Hawkenbury Farm, Kent, 215
Little Wenham Hall, 211
Little Wolford, 212
Llananno, screen at, 180
Lobb, Joel, at Chatsworth, 350
Lobb, Henry, at Chatsworth, 350
Locks, steel door—
at Beddington Manor House, 340
at Billesley Manor, 338, 340, 341
"Lodgings" the name given to guests' chambers, 34
Long Gallery, becomes general and replaces the Great Hall, 35
Long Melford Church, roof at, 67, 69
Ludham Church, 31, 180
Luther, Martin, 53
Lyme Park, Disley, Cheshire, 3, 218, 219
mantels from, 294, 296, 297, 304
remains of draped bedstead at, 370

Mantels, *see* Panellings—
oak, develop in size and importance in middle sixteenth century, 280, 293
style of, in Norfolk and Suffolk, 341
Mark or Merk, value of, in 1504, 125
Mason's mitre, 244, 269
Maynard, Mr. Guy, 234, 235
Middle Temple Hall, 55, 85, 86, 368
first performance of "*Twelfth Night*" in, 1601, 368
Minstrels' Galleries, 33
Monasteries—
dissolution of, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16
dissolution of, skill in craftsmanship dissipated after, 10, 11
dissolution of, vagrancy after the, 10, 11
high standard of production in, 20
numbers of artists and craftsmen maintained by, 20
Monks Eleigh Church, 70
Montacute House (1580), 33
Morant, "*History of Essex*," 264, 283
Moreton Old Hall (1559), 33
Morieux, Sir Thomas, 121
Musical instruments, Tudor, 40, 41

Nantes, Revocation of Edict of, 7
Nash, Joseph, "*English Mansions of the Olden Time*," 40
Needham Market Church—
door at, 206
roof at, 63, 86, 87, 88, 90
Neptune Inn, panellings from, 269

Nettlecombe Court (1500), 33
" Nonschenes " the fifteenth-century midday meal, 21
Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, 120
Norfolk and Suffolk, trade of, with the Low Countries, 343
Norfolk, a rich county in the sixteenth century, 305
Norwich Castle Museum, 210
Norwich Cathedral, retable in, 120, 121, 122, 124
Nostell Priory, Yorks, 220
Nova Zembla, *see* Barend Expedition

Oak—
  darkening of figure due to painting with lead colour, 104
  method of quartering to produce figure, 28, 180, 237
  rarely seasoned in large baulks in fifteenth century, 237
  replaced by deal in eighteenth century, 352, 353
  riving of, with the " thrower," 28, 29
Ockwells Manor, 33
Offences, penal, over one hundred punished with death or mutilation in the fifteenth century, 11
Office of Works, 84
Oil—
  accounts of purchases of, for decoration, 118
  treacherous nature of, if ill-refined, 118, 119
Old Burlington Street (No. 31), staircase at, 230
Oldham, Hugh, Bishop of Exeter, 278
Oxburgh Hall (1482), 32
Oxford Pew, Lavenham Church, 167

Pageny, Master, the King's designer, 250
Panellings and mantels, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 258, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 268, 269, 270, 271, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 289, 290, 291, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 328, 329, 330, 332, 334, 336, 337, 338, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 352, 353, 354
Panellings, *see* Wainscottings—
  at Billesley Manor, 334, 338
  at Chatsworth, 348, 349, 350
  at Clifford's Inn, 346, 347, 348
  at Great Fulford, 253, 254, 255
  at Holywells, Ipswich, 269, 270
  at St. Vincent, Rouen, 252, 253, 254
  at Swann Hall, Suffolk, 342
  at Vicars' Hall, Exeter, 271, 277, 278, 279
  at Whitley Beaumont, 352
  at Woodcote Park, 350, 352
  difficulties in obtaining dry wood for, 237
  distinctive styles in, of Norfolk and Suffolk, 342, 343
  do not introduce tenon and mortise into English carpentry, 231
  early character in late joiner-made, 345, 346
  from Beckingham Hall, 263, 264
  from Bromley-by-Bow Palace, 313, 315, 316, 317
  from Exeter, 300, 301, 302, 304
  from Lyme Park, 297, 298
  from Neptune Inn, 269
  from Rotherwas, 330, 332, 334
  from Sherard House, Eltham, 324, 325, 328, 329
  from Waltham, 256, 258, 262
  from Yarmouth, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310, 311
  large panels adopted as a fashion, 346
  large panels condemned by joiners, 344, 345
  large panels introduced by John Webb, 344
  linenfold, *see* Linenfold
  logical development of, in timber houses, 233
  more frequently of local make than staircases, 218
  not used in clerical houses, 232, 359
  only appear in late fifteenth century, 359
  panels in, become larger towards middle of seventeenth century, 341
  parchemin, *see* Parchemin
  reasons for late appearance of, 231
  South-west type, 299
  Sussex and Hampshire, character of, 341
  the work of a lesser grade of artisan, 240
  walnut used for, at Rotherwas, 332
  with pilasters, 297, 299, 301, 302, 313

Parchemin panels, 247, 249
Parchment or oiled linen used instead of glass in early windows, 52
Parkington, Mr. Thomas, 234
Parnham Park, 212
chimney-beam from, 289
Paycockes, Coggeshall, Essex, 190, 200, 208, 244
Paycocke, Thomas, a wealthy merchant, 282, 283
Penhalow, John, panels chambers in Clifford's Inn, 347
Penshurst Place, 39, 40
Pettelwode, Forest of, in Sussex, oak used for Westminster Hall roof, 98
Pilasters, *see* Panellings
Pilton Church, 165
font cover at, 171
Pindar, Sir Paul, house of, 322, 323, 324
Pit-saw, use of, 27, 28
Pixley, Hereford, screen at, 135
Plagues—
in England in 1348, 1361, 1369, 1477, 1478, 1479, 18
prevalence of, in Middle Ages, 18, 19
see "Sweating sickness"
Poor Law, 11
inaugurated to relieve men in employment, 27
Porches, 189, 192, 194, 195
Porter, Thomas, will of, 134
Pulpits, construction of, 172

Quercus pedunculata, 98

Rafters, *see* Roof
Ranworth, 31, 119, 132, 180
Renaissance—
influence from Italy apparent in England in early sixteenth century, 1
influences architecture and furniture at the same period, 4
influences from France, 301
introduction of, into Church work, 166, 167, 175
ornament introduced into England, 249, 250
ornament, variations of, in different counties, 250, 251, 252, 256, 268, 269, 293, 294, 299, 300, 301, 317, 318, 321, 322, 329, 332, 334
Reredos, 119, 120
in Norwich Cathedral, 120, 121, 122, 124
Richard II decides to renew roof of Westminster Hall (1394), 96
Ridley, Bishop, 132
Robertsbridge, Abbey of, 15
Rochester Castle, 10
Rogers, James E. Thorold, quoted, 9, 11, 18, 23, 24
Rokesale, Sir Richard de, arms of, 118
Rood, antiquity of the, 125
Rood-lofts—
destruction of, at Commonwealth, 131, 132, 151, 160, 162
problems involved in construction of, 146, 147
sizes of, in south-western counties, 134, 135
superstitious practices in, 131
uses of, 125, 131, 134
Roof, timber—
a triumph of English carpentry, 54
barn type, lesson to be learned from, 63, 64
barrel, 72
braced-rafter types, 72
braces, 60
cambered beams in, 58
clerestory windows in, 69, 79, 86, 88
collar-beams, 59, 77, 79, 84, 86, 94
compound, 62, 63, 98
conditions regulating, 58
development of, 54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 92, 94, 96, 98, 102
difference between, and ceilings, 73
difficulty in showing, in single photograph, 66
double-aisled, 64, 87, 88
firred-beam, 59
flat, unsatisfactory nature of, 55, 58
gable, 55
great curved rib in, 90
hammer-beam, 60, 78, 83, 86, 87, 90, 92, 94
embellishment of, 81, 86, 92
false, 60, 82, 94
in barns, 64
pendentive type, 62, 77, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86
single and double, 60
vaulted, 79
hammer-posts, 82, 84, 86, 94, 102
king-posts, 59, 73, 81

Roof, timber—
little difference between clerical and secular types, 67
painted, 77
post-and-beam, 59
principals, 62, 64
principles of construction of, 55, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63
progression of, explained, 66
purlins, 59, 70, 86, 92, 94
queen-posts, 59, 74, 86
rafters, common, 58
really the upper story of a timber house, 187
richness of, in East Anglian churches, 83
scissor-braced rafter type, 72
thrust of, considered, 58
tie-beams, 59
wall-plates, 59, 62
wall-posts, 59, 73, 77, 86
Westminster Hall, *see* Westminster Hall
Rotherwas, Hereford—
colour decoration at, 104
overdoor from, 296, 298
panellings from, 330, 332, 334
unusual woods at, 334
use of walnut at, 332
Rouen, panellings—
from St. Maclou, 253
from St. Vincent's, 252, 253, 254
Rougham Church, 71

St. Alban's Abbey, 9
St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, 41
St. Michael-at-Plea, Norwich—
door at, 206
font cover at, 172
former screen at, 125
reredos at, 124, 125, 134
will of Katherine Bewfield with bequest for decoration of, 125
St. Michael's Church, Coventry, 47
St. Osyth Church, 71, 77, 78
St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, 79
St. Vincent, Rouen, panelling at, 175
Salford, 33
Scagliola, 352
Scribing of mouldings, 208, 209
Seymour, Sir Thomas, owner of Tolleshunt Major, 264
Shakespeare quoted, 233, 234, 270, 366, 368
Shavington, 346
Sherard House, mantels from, 324, 325, 328, 329
Shipton Hall, 33
Silver, old English, nearly all originally gilded, 103
"*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*" quoted, 9, 11, 18, 23, 24
"Skreens" the partition dividing the Great Hall, 33
Slavery enacted in England in sixteenth century, 16
South Burlingham, pulpit at, 174
Southwold Church, 31, 78, 126, 180
Speenhamland Acts, the, of Mr. Whitbread (1795–1800), 27
Speke Hall, 251
Spring Pew, Lavenham Church, 72, 167, 168
Staircases—
absence of defined types in, 210
central newel or vise, 212
construction of, 229, 230
difficulty of resolving into types, 216, 218
early, not conspicuous, 211, 212
lighter in construction towards end of seventeenth century, 212
panellings more frequently of local make than, 218
rise in size and importance of, 34
subsidiary character of, in early houses, 34, 200
transplanting of, 215, 216
varieties of, 210
wood frequently replaced by iron in eighteenth century, 230
Star Hotel, *see* Yarmouth
Statute of Labourers, enacted, 23, 24
Stoke-by-Nayland Church, 208
Stoke-by-Nayland, chimney-beam from, 282
Stools, usual seats at meals until close of seventeenth century, 2, 7
Stowmarket Church, 208
Strap-and-jewel work, 320
Sutton Place, 3
Swann Hall, Suffolk, mantel at, 342
"Sweating Sickness"—
brought by army of Henry Tudor from Wales, 18
only attacks Englishmen abroad, 18
penetrates to Germany and the Netherlands, 18

Swimbridge Church, 165, 166, 172
Tables, development of, 4
Talman, architect at Chatsworth, 350
Tankard Inn, panellings from, 270
Tapestries—
  imitations of, in painted hangings, 233, 236
  usual wall coverings in wealthy houses, 232, 233, 359, 360
Tattershall Castle, 15
  chimney-piece from, 289, 290
  designed by Waynflete, 290
Tawstock Church, 71, 72, 167
  gallery at, 167, 175
Taxation, weight of, in sixteenth century, 12
Tempera mediums, 119
Thame, Abbot's Parlour at, 104
Thistleton Hall, Burgh, Suffolk, 42
Thorney Abbey House, 344
Thorpe Hall, 218, 219, 222
  staircase at, 344
Tidolaye, John de, 19
Tijou, Jean, his staircase at Chatsworth, 350
Timber, felling of, 27
Tissington Hall, 297, 298
Tolleshunt Major, or Beckingham, woodwork at, 264, 281, 283
Tools—
  from Barend Expedition, 31, 32
  of woodworkers, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31
Torrigiano, Pietro, 250, 251, 256
Tower of London, 10
Tracery, advance of, in woodwork of fourteenth century, 135, 136
Trading classes, low standard of comfort in houses of, 2
Tredegar Park, staircase at, 223
Tregoz, Geffrey de, 264
Triptych, 120
  more usual in Italy and Germany than in England, 120
Trunch, font-cover at, 172
Trussell, Sir Alured, 334
  family, 334, 336, 338
Tudor house, *see* House plan
  plan in form of open courtyard, 33
Tudor-Jacobean style, origin of, 252
Turning of legs of tables and chairs, 4

Ufford Church, 31, 77
  font cover at, 169
  painted roof at, 169
Ugborough Church, 166
Uxbridge, panelling from Treaty House at, 329, 330

Values, standards of, difficulties in comparison of, 17
Van Eyck, credited with first use of oil colours, 118
Van Eyck, Hubert, 115, 122, 124
Van Eyck, Jan, 110, 111, 115
Van Eyck, Margaret, 111
Vegetables, green, lack of, in fifteenth century, 3, 17, 18
Vere, John, Earl of Oxford, 334
Vicars' Hall, Exeter, *see* Exeter
Victoria and Albert Museum, 104, 235, 236, 256, 258, 300, 301
Vyell, Thomas, of Ixworth, Suffolk, 1472, will of, 29, 30

Wadham College, screen at, 33
Wages of craftsmen—
  apparent rise in, from fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, 23
  in fifteenth century, 21, 22
  see Woodworker, life of early
Wainscottings, *see also* Panellings
  an expensive luxury in sixteenth century, 236
  crude varieties of, found in Kentish farmhouses, 236
  earliest types formed by overlapping boards, 231, 243
  framing of, 231
  innovation of the later fifteenth century, 231
Waldingfield Church, 206
Wall-paintings, in timber houses, reasons for non-preservation of, 234, 235
Walls, in early houses covered with tapestries, at a later date with panellings, 2
Walnut—
  character of wood, 332
  first planted in England (1565), 332
  used for panelling at Rotherwas, 332
Waltham Abbey—
  panellings from, 256, 258, 262
  Sir Anthony Denny purchases, 262, 263

Ware, Great Bed of, referred to by Sir Toby Belch, 366
Warkleigh, Devon, screen at, 175
Warrack, Mr. John, quoted, 180
Watson, Samuel, carver at Chatsworth, 350
Waynflete—
the designer of Magdalen College, 10
the designer of Tattershall, 290
Webb, John, 344, 348
Westminster Abbey, stall canopies at, 168, 169
Westminster Hall—
constructional problems in roof of, 98
enormous size of roof of, 98, 102
erroneous idea that chestnut was used for roof of, 98
Hugh Herland entrusted with work to roof of, 96, 98
impossibility of obtaining timbers long enough for span of roof of, 98
John Godmeston appointed Clerk of Works to (1394), 96
lack of knowledge regarding original roof, 96
oaks taken from Forest of Pettelwode for, 98
Richard II decides to renew roof of, 96
roof, 55, 63, 66, 67, 81, 84, 91, 92, 94, 96, 124
roof of, the greatest triumph of English carpentry, 102
roof timbers of Sussex oak, 98
scantlings of timbers in roof of, 98
William Rufus holds Court in (1099), 96
Whalley family, 337
arms of, 337, 338
Whitley Beaumont, room from, 352
William Rufus, holds Court in Palace of Westminster (1099), 96
Winchester, choir stalls at, 136, 168, 169
Windows—
bay, *see* Bay windows
fifteenth century, rarely glazed, 3
glass a luxury in, until late in sixteenth century, 2
richness of, in timber houses, 51, 52
Windsor Castle, William of Wykeham, architect of, 10
Wingfield, Sir Thomas, panellings from house of, 270
Wolsey, Cardinal, 10, 15, 104, 262, 348
Woodcote Park, Epsom, woodwork from, 350, 352
Woodwork—
divisions of, into types, 7
Golden Age of, in fifteenth century, 11
importance of clerical houses in development of, 2
Woodworker, life of early, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31
Workmen, *see* Artisans
Works, Office of, 84
Wren, Sir Christopher, 218, 348
Wykeham, William of, 10, 136, 232, 355

Yarmouth, panelled rooms from, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310, 311
Yellow, ranks in heraldry as a metal, 116
York Guild Hall, roof of, 64, 65, 67, 96
Young, Thomas, at Chatsworth, 350

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

NK
2529
C45
v.1

Cescinsky, Herbert
Early English furniture &
woodwork